### 32 SPORT

Football FA Cup: Reading 0 Manchester United 3

## **Big freeze fails to** cool United's fire

### David Lacey

HOSE scanning the icy wastes of the weekend's football programme for historical precedents will no doubt have noticed that when the FA Cup was severely disrupted in 1963 the trophy was eventually won by Manchester United

Others, more intent on debunking history, may feel entitled to point out that in the season which has seen the fewest nostponements since the second world war, 1947-48, the Cup was won by ... guess

Either way Old Trafford has now reached a point roughly similar to that at which Ron Atkinson went out and Alex Ferguson came in. Once more the Cup represents the only tangible alternative to the league championship, hopes for which are fading fast.

Under Ferguson Manchester United may have won two league titles, as well as the Double, but it is a common law of football that the more a manager wins the more he is expected to win. A third FA Cup success for Ferguson would be a considerable feat in a season of transition, but for United a place in the Cup Winners' Cup will never be an adequate substitute for one in the Champions' League,

As a builder of confidence and

their third successive appearance in the final this season Ferguson will regard it as an important staging post in the inevitable process of turning the team around. Last August, with Cantona suspended and Ince and Hughes sold on, few would have given much for United's chances of winning something.

Of course, the FA Cup could still prove United's Calvary this season, as it nearly did in the third round against Sunderland, who led at Old Trafford and Roker Park, Last weekend, however, less was left to chance.

Playing with more aplomb than hitherto, United continued their tour of the Endsleigh League's pre-Taylor museums with a 3-0 win at Reading which was never seriously in doubt once Giggs had snapped up a rebound nine minutes before half-time. A mishit centre from Parker, his first goal for three years, inadvertently increased their lead, and Cantona added a third in the penultimate minute.

Reading, guided by their 36-yearold player-managers Jimmy Quinn and Mick Gooding, worried United with inventive, imaginative football until Giggs scored.

The match was marred by an incldent in which a coin thrown by a fan hit a linesman. If the Football Association feels inclined to rap Reading over the knuckles for the incident it character, however, the FA Cup is should also commend the Elm Park at least have made the game more invaluable, and should United make groundstaff's efforts in getting the of a contest.



Star cluster: congratulations overflow for substitute Paul Parker (left) after scoring his first goal for three years and United's second in the cup tie at Elm Park PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKS

tie played at all. A mixture of sand and plastic sheeting had defeated the frost, and the only problem for the players was an uneven surface.

Ferguson told United to "be sensible, keep it simple and keep the ball ahead of you". He might have added, "If in doubt, watch what the opposition are doing", since common sense and simplicity were fun-damental to Reading's early optimism, when a luckier rebound here and better contact there might

In the end the principal difference between the teams lay not so much in technique as in pace. "United have got so many good athletes," said Quinn after wards.

"The most dangerous moments for us came when our movements broke down in their box. Keane, Butt, Sharpe and Giggs could get the ball up the other end in a matter of seconds. And that French fellow within sight of a famous Cup we tory, they did not have the change of gear which would have cause Bruce more problems. The Man chester United captain was solidity personified at Elm Park, but he wa rarely tested for speed.

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"I said before the game that Ref ing would win," Yuri Geller, Er Park's resident celebrity, told Rez Giggs, "but your talent overpowerd my mind." Giggs looked blank m beat a hasty retreat before Gellcould get on to the subject of ber ing free-kicks.

wasn't bad either." Though Reading reproduced the angles of pass and runs into space that had twice brought Sunderland American Football Superbowl XXX 2 Affair involving King's Defence 3 Unrefined whisky swamping Brown leads the stampede radio waves (9) 4 It helps cook to separate. DEFENSIVE back Larry Brown provided the inspira-Introducing a piquant touch (8,4) 6 One in privy rising at 10 (slc) (5) tion as Dallas Cowboys heat 7 'Sorry I got In the way' and so Pittsburgh Steelers 27-17 in forth (8 8 Border guards turning printers' Tempe, Arizona to clinch their measures Into cloth (8) third Super Bowl in four years. 1 Love catching love in devious Brown was named the game's Most Valuable Player after makenares of stervetion (12)

ing two key interceptions for the National Football Conference champions. He found himself in the right place at the right time as the

Pittsburgh quarterback Neil O'Donnell, under pressure, threw the ball right to the Dallas cornerback, killing the Steelers' threat of pulling off a comeback. The Cowboys joined the San Francisco 49ers as the only clubs to win five Super Bowls

and extended the NFC winning streak in the National Football League's championship game to 12 consecutive years. "It wasn't the prettiest game we've played, but our defence stepped up and made the big plays," said Dallas quarterback Troy Alkman.

The Cowboys' much-maligned coach Barry Switzer, under intense scrutiny for two years, was obviously elated and clearly feeling vindicated.

After accepting the Vince Lombardi trophy, Switzer turned to Cowboys owner Jerry Jones 

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"This one is sweet, they all are," said Cowboys star running back Emmitt Smith, who was held to just 49 yards rushing but scored touchdowns after each of

Brown's interceptions. The experts were predicting nother Super Bowl blow-out, but after four consecutive lopsided clashes, the Steelers made this one exciting. Pittsburgh, though trailing throughout, had seized the momentum and were very much alive until late in the fourth quarter.

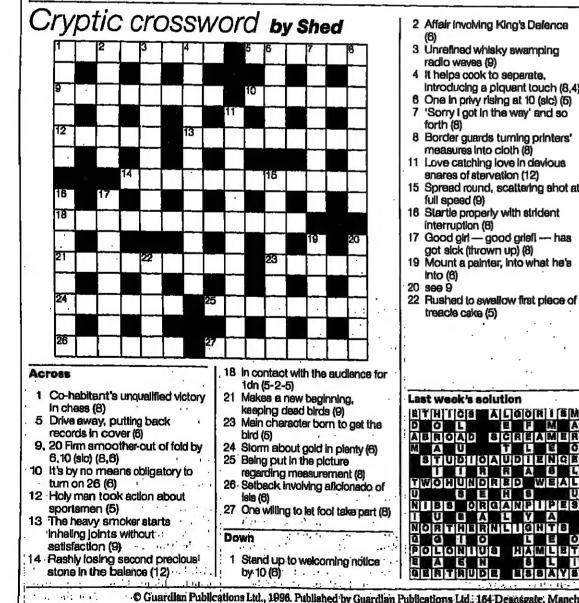
They even looked as if they might win until Brown's second interception put the final nail in the coffin.

"Each week a different guy made the big plays. It's not surprising today it was Larry Brown. He bailed out my offence," said Aikman, who needed just two plays to score after each of Brown's pick-offs.

"After winning three Super Bowls in four years this foo team has made a place in history," added the player who completed 15 of 23 passes for 209 yards and one touchdo

The Steelers came alive late to the first half and had the edge is virtually every statistic except for turnovers.

And that was what killed then --- two interceptions by a quarterback known for accurate passes. — Reuter



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A.



Vol 154, No 6 Week ending February 11, 1996

### The Washington Post. Levillende



which 80 people died

Rebels and state troops

butcher civilians rather

than fight each other,

reports Mark Huband

from Bo in Sierra Leone

stump of a hand. "It is ever-

lasting punishment," he said. "The

people came after midnight. One of

to chop me with a cutlass and he

chopped off all my fingers. I can't do

anything for myself now, even eat."

Mr Sao, aged 32, now lives with other displaced people near the ceu-

tral Sierra Leonean town of Bo, 150

miles east of the capital, Freetown. He seems obsessed with his hand,

staring at it and trying to use it as if

Savagery has been dressed up as revolution by the rebels, the Revolu-

tionary United Front, But the coun-

try's corrupt and inept army has

done much the same, and civilians

he had fingers.

## Clinton called | Africa's poorest trapped in to testify in Arkansas trial

### Jonathan Freedland in Washington

THE Whitewater affair reached new heights this week when a federal judge ordered President Bill Clinton to testify in a criminal trial investigating the scandal. Mr Clinton was issued with a

ubpoena demanding he appear as the star witness in the trial of Susan McDougal, once his part-ner in the failed Arkansas land deal known as Whitewater.

If he complies, Mr Clinton will become the first sitting president to appear in criminal proceedings. White House aides were swift

to emphasize on Monday that the president has not been charged with anything and has been called merely as a witness for Ms McDougal, who faces conspiracy and fraud charges. But the political cost for Mr

Clinton is likely to be high, com-ing less than 10 days after his wife, Hillary Clinton, faced a fourhour grilling before the Whitewater grand jury in Washington.

Republicans are bound to seize on the image of a president forced to return to his home state to answer questions about the shady financial dealings that was governor.

The trial is due to start in Little Rock on March 4 --- in the middle of the Republican primary season, when the party chooses a presidential challenger to take on Mr Clinton in November.

Mr Clinton will reportedly seek to repeat Ronald Readan's action during the Iran-Contra trial of the former national security adviser John Poindexte Mr Reagan delivered a sworn deposition on video.

Right on in Divisiand, page 6

war of mindless mutilation

as rebels. While everyone gossips about the coup last month, in which military ruler Captain Valentine Strasser was ousted by his deputy, no one seems to know if it is a good or a bad thing. What is certain is RANCIS Momoh Sao stroked his cheek with his swollen stump of a hand. "It is even that the war, which has brought in four foreign armies, has united government soldiers, mercenaries, dianond dealers and gold prospectors n turning misery into profit and the men ordered a boy of around 13

poverty into power. Michael Sumaila is 27 years old and strong. His baby sister holds his knee tight where he sits on a wooden stool as he tells his story at his camp near Bo. "It was at Pelewahun where the rebels caught me. They told me to lie on the road and said they were going to cut my arms off. I never asked why. I just begged them seriously not to do it, but they told me they had to cut them. They refused my begging. The man with the machete came and he was instructed to cut my arms off.

"He cut the right arm twice and the left arm twice. I couldn't get up, and some other rebels came in and cut my back with a bayonet. Later my brother found me and brought me to the hospital."

Perhaps, but only perhaps, he is lucky to be alive. Barbarism has claimed at least 50,000 lives since 1991. Both "armles" run away when the shooting starts, preferring to maim defenceless civilians who can easily be accused of complicity with the opposing sides.

Sierra Leone is Africa's poorest country, but its mineral deposits mean it should be one of the richest. Nobody can explain why the war is appening. Ceasefires, like the one called last month, are only to allow rearmament. The rebels have no easonable ideological goal.

In Freetown, the search for normalify has thrown up the strangest

just as easily be government troops | rituals. In the dim light of a crescent moon, on a terrace at the dilapidated Paramount Hotel. the Freemasons of the Lodge Sapients wore black ties and toasted success as if there were no war. Outside, a million candles burned along roadsides where nobody can remember having electricity. The Freemasons ended with "Auld Lang Syne".

The war may as well have been 1,000 miles away, though the nearest victims are only a one-hour drive from the capital along roads which, when they are open, provide the only link between the self-styled grandees of Freetown and the peasants who scrape a living in what Sierra Leoneans pompously term "the provinces".

The violence began in March 1991 when the rebels' campaign was launched from Liberia by a British trained army corporal, Foday Sankoh. The corrupt president Major-General Joseph Momoh, pre-ferred to steal rather than fight the rebels, and his duplicity resulted in the 1992 coup which installed Strasser, then aged 26.

Last month, it was Strasser's turn to be ousted. The leader, who had promised the army's withdrawal from politics in the presidential election on February 26, then tried to sneak into the contest as a cand date. But, instead of running to president, Africa's youngest head of state found himself ingloriously replaced by his deputy, Brigadier Julius Maada Bio, who has professed commitment to civilian rule.

Within hours of the coup, the rebels declared a seven-day ceasefire. Kono, 300 miles east of Freetown

produces up to \$5 million worth of top quality diamonds every week. Production, possession and protection of that wealth determines the course of Sierra Leonean politics. Army rule has enriched the continued on page 3.1

## **Tigers take** revenge on Colombo

### Suzanne Goldenberg

SRI LANKA paid in blood for its victories over the Tamil Tiger guerrillas as a devastating truck bomb tore through central Colombo last week, killing up to 80 people and injuring about 1,300 others.

Two Tamil youths reportedly confessed to helping the suicide bombers. The men, identified as Ragunathan and Kutti, were arrested as they fled the scene of one of the most devastating explosions in more than 12 years of a war which has made a speciality of terror.

They told detectives they were nembers of the Tamil Tigers, the guerrilla force suspected of carryng out the attack.

The Sri Lankan authorities had been expecting an attack on civilian targets in Colombo for more than a month, ever since the army inflicted its most serious defeat yet on the Tigers by ejecting them from their citadel in the northern Jaffna peninsula.

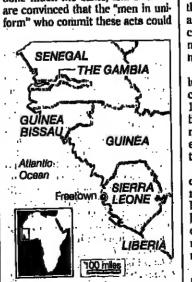
President Chandrika Kumaratunga said the bomb showed the rebels' desperation following their defeat. "This unfortunate incident has once again reminded us that the threat to Sri Lankan society by terrorism must be firmly deal with," she said.

The blast is bound to bring fur-ther ruin to a country which has seen its economic fortunes plummet with the war. There were fears that the latest sign of the Tigers' deadly terror might scare away visitors.

The forthcoming cricket World Cup has been thrown into chaos as Australia and West Indies seem set on refusing to play matches in Colombo (story, page 32).

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## 2 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR Northern Irish elections

could spell Major disaster

THE DISMAY with which repub- | player, should not be exempt from licans and the Irish government such renewal, especially in view of view John Major's call for elections the gradual erosion of its mandate in Northern Ireland should be since the last election. Such a move shared whatever one's political sympathies (Anger greets Major's call for Ulster poll, February 4). Major must hope to benefit from the widespread view that democracy and elections must be synonymous. This is wrong, and especially so in the

tricky case of political transitions. Elections mirror existing divisions and views. But the reason people support peace processes is precisely to make it possible for them to change their minds. An election which reproduces old fixities can only hamper this altempt to create new fluidities. The point is not to count old allegiances but to make new ones. Negotiations, not elections, are the path which will eventually make consent in a divided society meaningful.

Major might retort that he is calling for elections only for party representatives to a negotiating forum, and that parties should have to legitimate themselves internally before going to the table. Yet elections would inevitably set parties at odds among themselves. The electoral battles and posturing of "normal" democracy have no place in the process of politi cal transition where co-operation between parties is at a premium. (Dr) Melissa Lane, King's College, Cambridge

IT IS NOT often that I agree with John Major, but after 17 months of pettiness and stalling over the Northern Ireland peace process, I feel that all the main participants should be required to review their electoral mandate prior to all-party talks. Major's government, as the main

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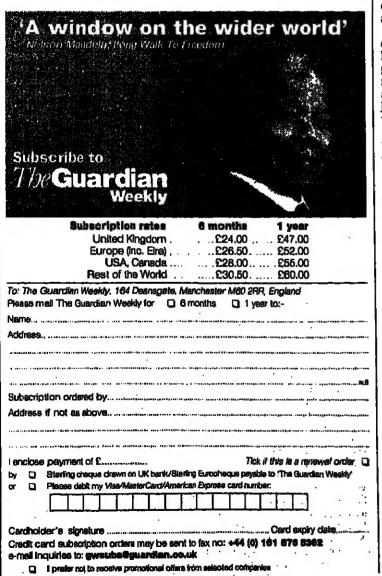
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would have the added advantage of quashing any runours of a pact beween the Conservatives and the Juionists, in order to maintain the Conservative majority in Parliament. (Dr) A P Connor, Oxenhope, West Yorks OME 20 years ago, as director O of the Northern Ireland Com-

munity Relations Commission, I went with a group of prominent members of the community to meet the self-appointed Workers' Council. t was beginning a protest strike against what it saw as an attempt by he new power-sharing executive to railroad Ulster into a united Ireland.

So alarmed were we by the potential damage to the emergent executive that we tried to see the newly appointed Secretary of State at Stormont, Merlyn Rees. We were met by a senior official of the Northern Ireland Office who informed us that Mr Rees would have no truck with "thugs and bully boys". We sent a delegation to Westminster; the chief Labour spokesman on Northern Ireland refused even to listen to what we had to say. The rest is history. The strike became a province-wide shut-down and the executive fell. And now John Major has done it again. He has managed to antag-onise not just Sinn Fein but the entire nationalist community and the Irish government. Having appointed a commission which came up with a formula to save faces all round, why did he not accept it? David Rowlands, Heworth, York



SELLAR and Yestman in 1066 And All That wrote of Gladstone that "he devoted the rest of his life to trying to solve the Irish Question, but every time he got close to the answer the Irish changed the question". The case with John Major seems slightly different; he has also devoted the rest of his political life to trying to solve the Irish Question but every time anybody gets close to the answer he thinks up a new question. Roger Crosskey, London

### Harman needn't apologise

THE LABOUR party is being far too pusillanimous over the issue of its leaders' children's schooling. Rather than apologising for Harriet Harman and Tony Blair sending their sons to private schools, they should be highlighting the devastation caused to the state system by Tory education pollcy. Their stance should be that since thousands of schools have been starved of resources, which have been channelled instead into the private system, Ms Harman is perfectly justified in choosing not to condemn her son to a sub-standard education. But when they gain power, Labour will restore equality of opportunity, thereby ensuring that her son would receive just as good an education in the state system. Robert Heath,

Caracas, Venezuela

### Iragis have rights too

THANKFULLY Peter Pellett has had the courage to speak out from a position of direct knowledge on the results of economic sanctions against the Iraqi people (January 21). Rightly or wrongly, the West has demonised Saddam Hussein. We live too far away from the Iraqi people to know whether or not the judgment is fair, but we are not too far away to know that the victims of the judgment are innocent children as well as decent Iraqi people.

The greatest hypocrisy of all is that governments which condemn others for lack of human rights are now depriving the conquered, in-cluding bables, of the right to live. Shall we stand by and remain

silent while this subtle "ethnic cleansing" takes place? Elsie Tu,

Kowloon, Hong Kong

THE PEOPLE of Iraq have now suffered five years of sanctions as a means of bringing Saddam Hua-sein into line with UN directives. They have been starved: hospitala are desperately short of necessities: the infant mortality rate is the highrate of the Iraqi dinar, which was once equal to £2, is now more than 3,000 to the pound. With most salaries still measured in hundreds of dinars, most people have re-sorted to trading all their domestic goods for a little food.

The Western powers have not provided either moral or material support to any of the opposition groups in Iraq. Support of the Kurds in the sense can argue with. north of Iraq would displease our Nato ally, Turkey, and support for the Shias in the south would frighten our

oil-rich friends in the Gulf. It is now time for the UN to lift the sanctions against Iraq and allow free sale of its oil reserves. This need not mean opening the door for rearmament of iraq as an effective arms embargo on what he refers to as "purg. could prevent the sale of heavy weapons to Irac.

Continuation of the sauctions will not force Saddam to heel as he can survive indefinitely on the limited trade now operating across the borders with Jordan and Turkey, but it will mean the deaths of thousands more innocent children. (Dr) R Eccles.

### The merry vibes of Windsor

Danescourt, Cardiff

RINCE CHARLES'S call to celebrate the approaching new mil-lennium is inspirational (The Week in Britain, February 4). He is in effect asking us to see it as an opportunity to reconsider the basic assumptions of the materialist world view that has prevailed in the latter part of the present millennium.

One such assumption is that all benefits are man-made --- the product of science, technology and industry, ie, of economic development or progress, and made available via the market or by state institutions.

For politicians and economists who have been trained in these ideas, no value of any kind is attributed to the invaluable, irreplaceable services provided for free by the natural functioning of normal human families and communities. Nor is any value attributed to the equally invaluable and irreplaceable benefits, also provided for free, of the normal functioning of ecological systems - benefits that they are alone capable of assuring: the tertility of our soil, the replenishment of our water supplies and the stability of our climate. If no value is attributed to these critical benefits, it follows that we can annihilate them, as we are systematically doing today,

with impunity. Clearly a society that entertains such a dogma must be incapable of solving the ever more pressing problems of today. It must thus be a priority to reconsider it seriously as

it must the other equally untenable assumptions that underlie the aberrant world view with which we have all been imbued. Edward Goldsmith,

### The Ecologist, Richmond, Surrey

THE PRINCE has reminded us that the choices of the new milennium are between a continuing slide into disintegration and conflict, and moving towards dialogue and harmony between people. He uses the word "hope" and correctly emphasises the need to talk of the "spirit" to challenge the oppressive sense of consumerist materialism that pervades society. He also lays out the among other religions. Those who quibble about the source of moncy to build a religious place of worship miss the point. If the idea is worthwhile, money can come from sources that are religiously acceptable. I know of no public figure who

Despite all the predictions, Sad-dam Hussein is still firmly in place. ject so directly from his heart. His appeal to create a caring, compassionate, multicultural society is something no one of goodwill or

#### GUARDIAN WER February 1112

### Briefly

D EREK MALCOLM'S reverial" Lus Vegas (Tut, tut for then tat of Las Vegas, January 21) in accurate in describing Las Via as is most Americans' belief the

Englishmen live in stately home Las Vegas is different, and an girl growing up in Leicestensing could not have imagined living by But if Mr Malcolm had taken ser time to get off the "atrip" he was have discovered a thriving come nity with a surprising range of tractions and opportunities.

Las Vegas is one of the late growing cities in the United Sulwhich indicates many people dop share Mr Malcolm's view, We n sometimes surprised with what w find if we don't start with prove ceived notions.

#### lean Witmer, Las Vegas, Nevada, USA

THE REDUCTION by 3,001 the 40,000 prison workfore: Britain (3.000 jail jobs axed )a. ary 21) need not be a major pe em. The level of supervision ad be maintained by releasing at the same time 3,975 of the prison p-

ulation. This would result in 6,975 me people to support the economics covery. Any increase in unemply ment would be soon balanced the 100 per week increase in b prison population.

Geoff Bonney, Sharqiyuk, Sultanate of Oman

WAS astounded to read (Fright the opera, January 21) that b BBC was insensitive enough broadcast, as part of their do mentary series on the running the Royal Opera House, a % meeting in which highly critical\* marks were made about a month of staff working in the box office. Has the much-maligned indig

ual concerned any legal retre against the BBC, the Royal Opt House - or indeed the Guada Weekly?

James Chater, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

ROBERT MILTON (February Wales government for the fat # the new Governor will not and Government House (he has been expelled from it). Has been sidered that perhaps the Government wife has refused to move into the isolated splendour of three rooms the dowdy neo-gothic pile in # botanic gardens?

She might quite reasonably fer to remain in her convenient? private newly-renovated house t the sea. Would the monarchi refuse her this democratic righ? Caroline Leighton,

TheGuardia

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#### GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1998

## Sierra Leone's secret war

Continued from page 1 officers. If they are content with their pickings, they may leave power and the war may end.

But greed is strong and the civilian voice is weak. Diamond mining restarted in November when the rebels were driven out of Kono by nercenaries of Executive Outcomes. the South African private army whose 300 troops are now sending the rebels packing in return for \$30 million and lucrative diamond mining concessions. On December 29, the government diverted part of a \$19 million International Monetary Fund grant to the mercenaries, when they threatened to leave as unpaid government bills mounted. three senior sources confirmed.

Liberation of the diamond area was explained as necessary to restart the war-torn economy. It has done nothing of the sort - only a pitiful amount ends up with the state. The rest enriches the junta, the mercenaries and the dealers.

Meanwhile, the southern bauxite and titanium mining region - which contributes 60 per cent of foreign exchange earnings to the economy but from which the junta cannot earn quick profits - has been left with only the inept army in charge.

"It's bad government all along which has led to this situation. The rebels declared war against the government, but then they attacked the people," said Chief Henry Jusu, the pensive, troubled leader of 30,000 displaced people from the titanium uning region, now squatting in the picturesque southern coastal town f Bonthe. "We ran into the forest. We weren't safe. We went to camps. But we weren't safe there. The army ran away when they were supposed to protect us. The old people were killed. Young people were maimed or forced to fight with the rebels. But we don't know exactly what they are fighting for. They have lost sympathy for the people as they have be come more wild and more vicious."

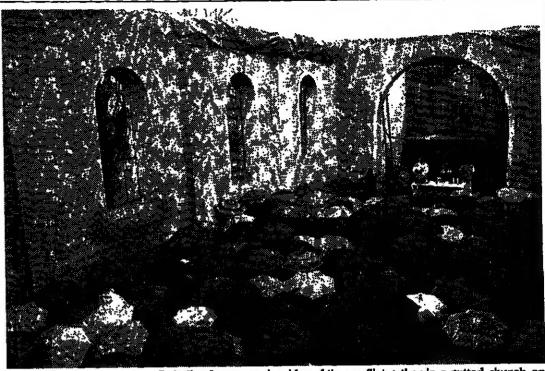
Twice in six months a barge has arrived in Bonthe from Freetown with United Nations food for the dis placed. "The barge takes a long time because, before it's loaded in Freetown, it always has to have its holes mended," said Prince Tokah, a representative of Care Interna-tional, which is distributing: the food. "When it arrived last time, we had to negotiate with the military to allow it to land because mooring it near the gunboat is a security issue Then the unloaders went on strike because they had not been offered food in return for the work . . . "

On and on he went, finding end-less reasons why the victims of a pointless war should never be allowed to forget they are victima. Even displaced children there, deprived of education for nearly i year, are barred from the school be-

sizes should not exceed 40 pupils. "They come and go, though," said Rose, the jolly proprietress of Free as well as local authorities, the right as a green light for more invasions. town's quaint Café de la Rose, of the || to challenge reserve areas and claim transient regimes.

Outside, the government was replacing old open drains with new open drains. A mangy, acablous dog cooled itself in a stagnant puddle before being chased off by a half-naked man who washed himself thoroughly in the same water.

"Momoh was too nice and Strasser tried too hard," said Rose |; gramme; which has a \$20 million with a heavy sigh. "So; God bless, component specifically for the de marcation of indigenous areas, and duce the size of the indigenous ernor, advising the best way to do it."



Open-air mass . . . Bosnian Catholics from opposite sides of the conflict gather in a gutted church on the former front line in the Sarajevo suburb of Stup. The church held its first mass in more than three years as the Bosnian government reasserted its authority throughout the capital PHOTO: DANILO KESTANOMICZ

## French silence Serb snipers

#### Julian Borger in Sarajevo

ATO'S first lethal action by ground troops, in which a Serb sniper was tracked and killed last week, was a covert operation by French special forces with a point to prove French soldiers stationed in Sara-

jevo felt guilty for having failed to prevent a Serb grenade attack on a tram on January 9 in which a civilian was killed, or to find the perpetra tors. So when Nato vehicles came under fire in the Serb suburb of Ilidza, their commanders sent an élite team of soldiers to hunt the sniper.

"From our point of view, we failed over the tram incident. We felt we couldn't fail this time," a French officer serving with Nato's peace implementation force (I-For) said. "We had people who passed some days and nights out there waiting for someone to show himself."

From ballistics reports on I-For vehicles hit in Ilidza, the French narrowed down the likely source of gunfire. By last week they had fo-cused on an abandoned factory near the main road from Ilidza to Sarajevo.

"At 6.20 in the evening the teams saw unusual activity in the building. Action teams worked towards the | around Sarajevo which was due to | this week.

HE Brazillan justice minister.

Nelson Jobim, could prove to be

landed almost 500 years ago. Over-

seas agencies who have funded

projects to protect indigenous popu-lations are demanding explanations.

These include the G7's Amazon

Rainforest Conservation Pro-

Jan Rocha in São Paulo

cover, watching with night-sights," the officer said.

When a figure raised a rifle, one of the action teams opened fire, hitting the sniper in the stomach and arm. He was taken to a French field hospital but later died, becoming the first person shot dead by I-For troops since they arrived on December 20.

Nato sources said the sniper was armed with a high-velocity rifle with a telescopic sight. A second man with a rifle was arrested on the spot and handed over to the Bosnian Serb police after questioning. The sources would not say what was learnt from the interrogation.

Both men were wearing a combi nation of civilian and military clothing and were carrying Bosnian Serb military identity papers. But Major Simon Haselock, a Nato spokesman in Sarajevo, dismissed the possibility that they were part of an organised military operation. "The most likely theory is a rogue group of people who lost control," he said.

French military sources said a third suspected sniper had escaped, but Nato spokesmen said they were

aware of only two gunmen. llidza lies in a swath of Serb land

building. Other teams provided be transferred to government rule at the weekend, but where Serb police are staying on. About 15,000 Serbs have already left, refusing to accept a Muslim-led government, and many more are expected to go in the coming weeks.

The aggressive response almost ertainly took the gunmen by surorise. French anti-sniping teams deployed as part of the UN peacekeeping force could open fire only if snipers shot first. Commando raids were ruled out by the UN's rules of engagement.

 The Bosnian government has arrested a Serb general, a colonel and six other men for investigations into suspected war crimes in a move that will infuriate the Bosnian Serbs.

Nato said the ground forces comnander, Lieutenant-General Michael Walker, was told of the arrests by the Bosnian interior minister, Bakin Alisoahic.

It said Bosnian Serb authorities had raised the issue at a meeting of Nato and military commanders from

formed the war crimes tribunal in The Hague of the arrests and asked the tribunal to question the men

## China army fuels a war of nerves

**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 3

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

N ITS fiercest display yet in an escalating battle of nerves with Tai wan, China has reportedly massed up to 400,000 troops in a coastal area newly designated a "war zone" prior to a massive, month-long milltary exercise.

As fear of the People's Liberation Army again jolted Taiwan's stock exchange, its president, Lee Teng-hui, said this week that Beijing's war games showed the Communist party is "scared to death" of the isand's burgeoning democracy.

Military sources confirmed troop movements in Fujian province facing Taiwan in preparation for largescale exercises of PLA ground, air and naval forces.

An unconfirmed report in Hong Kong's Sing Tao Daily said China would deploy 300 warplanes, 20 élite infantry units, submarines and missile-bearing boats. It quoted au unnamed Chinese official saying any interference by Taiwanese ships or planes would make a clash difficult to avoid".

China's manoeuvres, expected to start this week, provide a menacing counterpoint to campaigning in Taiwan for elections at the end of March.

"March 23, 1996, is an important day in Chinese history because it is the first time the country holds democratic presidential elections." President Lee said on Sunday in Taipei. "The Chinese communists are scared to death of this historic

Beijing sees the poll as a ploy to perpetuate Taiwan's status as a separate political entity and has denounced President Lee as bent on pushing it towards independence. It hopes military threats will hurt Mr Lee's chances of victory, or force him to abandon efforts to increase Taiwan's international profile.

But Fredrick Chien. Taiwan's foreign minister, seemed to rule out any retreat. "The efforts will not be thwarted by media diatribe and military inlimidation by Chinese communists," he said.

A new study of the PLA by the Stockholm International Peace Institute doubts whether China has the capability to launch an effective assault. However, political uncertainty has sparked fears that the imperatives of internal power-strug-gles could override military logic.

The tension is causing deep uncase in the United States. The Washington Post reported that US officials had decided to formally warn China that "heightened tension could lead to miscalculation and accident". But there is no sign that Washington' is ready to spell out what a policy of so-called "strategic ambiguity" might mean in the ent of conflict

.Chinese troops searched for survivors in freezing darkness at the weekend after a powerful earthquake killed at least 240 people and left 3,800 seriously injured in a scenic mountain region popular with for-eign backpackers. The earthquake measured 7.0 on the Richter scale.

Worst hit were villages around Lijiang; a town in China's southwestern Yunnan province noted for its spectacular scenery, cave art and ancient relics.

Comment, bage 10

which provides funds for the demarcation of 14 indigenous reserves in the Amazon state of Rondonia. Capoib, Brazil's biggest indigeas deadly to Brazil's Indians as Gennous organisation; wants the intereral Custer was to North America's. national agencies to suspend these He has changed the rules of the

nt's indigenous land rights | payments unless the government policy, giving squatters - loggers, repeals Decree 1775, which changed miners, ranchers, amall farmers - the rules. They fear it will be seen The decree could put 344 out of

their survival since the Portuguese the decree paves the way for in the case was none other than Jobim. vasions with massacres, selective the final arbiter for challenges killings, and abductions to follow. Will no longer be the judges of the The Brazilian ambassador in London dismissed this as "overréaction".

the World Bank's Planaflora project, | areas. Covering 11 per cent of Brazil's territory, mostly in the Amazon basin, and containing valuable mineral deposits and mahogany reserves, they are coveted by developers.

Defending the new decree; Mr Jobim says that at any moment the Supreme Court could have declared previous legislation unconsul tional, creating confusion. In fact, in the only case of its kind, the Supreme Court threw out an atcompensation. The indigenous pop-ulation see it as the biggest threat to grabs. For Annesty International, in 1992. The lawyer who brought

Supreme Court, or the technocrats at Funai, the national indigenous affairs agency, but the justice minister, For the anthropologists at the To make sure that challenges are Socio-Environmental Institute in São | not lacking; he is reported to have

the two sides in Sarajevo on Monday. Mr Alispahic said Bosnia had in-Land decree threatens Brazil's indigenous

## **4 INTERNATIONAL NEWS**

### The Week

ANTONIO MACCANICO, a 71-year-old former bureaucrat, has been asked to form a broadly-based government in Italy with a brief to keep the country ticking over while politiclans try to agree on reforming the constitution.

HE United States has given a grant of \$2 million in humanitarian assistance to communist North Korea which, according to the Clinton administration, is experiencing widespread food shortages and malnutrition.

RUSSIAN union leaders called off their pit strike at the weekend after the govern-ment promised \$125 million in back pay and a \$2.25 billion subsidy for the industry. Washington Post, page 13

CONFUSION reigned in Guatemala after the government said a man was shot dead as he tried to kill President Alvaro Arzu on the eve of Pope John Paul's visit.

HE GREEK government, facing public indignation at Washington's role in defusing the row with Turkey over a disputed Aegean island, forced the US assistant secretary of state, Richard Holbrooke, to cancel his forthcoming visit.

Le Monde, page 17

C LAUDE GUBLER, the Paris doctor who breached state secrecy by writing a book about President François Mitterrand's health record, may be struck off by the French Medical Association.

AJIK government troops pushed back a mutinous army force that had advanced towards the capital, Dushanbe, to press demands for the diamissal of the government of the central Asian former Soviet republic.

**S** HOPS and markets in the Guinean capital Conakry were bare on Sunday after a frenzy of looting by mutinous soldiers demanding better pay and rations. Up to 40 people were killed and dozena wounded in the looting and clashes beween the mutineers and troops.

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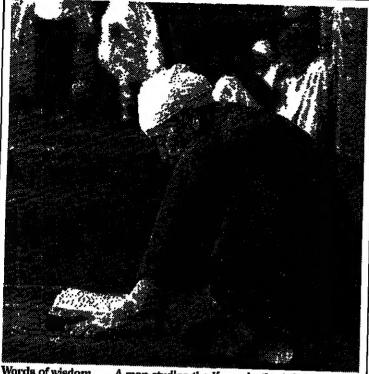
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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL said it received many reports in the last 10 months of German police beating up detained foreigners, and demanded an investigation.

N IGERIAN and Cameroonian troops fought on disputed islands in the Bakassi peninsu and several soldiers were killed on both sides.

HE United Nations secre-tary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, warned that an unprecedented cash crisis could shut down the organisation. Washington Post, page 13 president, strove on Sunday to criteria.



Words of wisdom . . . A man studies the Koran in the 1,000-year-old Azhar mosque in Cairo before breaking his fast at sunset during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan PHOTOGRAPH: MOHAMED EL.C

## Kohl warns Britain on Europe's future

John Palmer in Brussels Larry Elliott in Davos and Michael White

HANCELLOR Helmut Kohl issued a veiled warning to the British government last week that it should not try to deflect other European Union countries from moving ahead to monetary and closer political union.

His remarks will be seen as a direct rebuke to senior British figures, including the former Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, who have asked Germany to propose postponing the planned move to a single currency in 1999.

In an address at Louvain University near Brussels, the German chancellor served notice that the pace of European Integration would not be set by those who wanted to slow progress to closer union. Mr Kohl said the single currency

project was going through "a period of uncertainty" but he insisted that the policy of European integration actually comes down to a question of peace or war for the 21st century". He stressed that "It is no use ollowing the ostrich policy."

The chancellor did not mention the British government by name, but it was clear whom he had in mind. "During the next few years we will have to prove that a viable Europe can be built with 15 and more states," he said. "The slowest ship in the convoy should not be allowed to determine its speed. If individual partners are not prepared or able to participate in cert towards integration, the others Jean-Luc Dehaene, the Belgian. should not be denied the opportuin steps

ing the single market with the union even the single market would achievement of monetary union by not hold, he added. 1999. "We will spare no effort to see that it is achieved. But if it isn't, it | Santer and Mr Dehaene were seen will be a great step backwards, and I as evidence of concern that the Nepal, India, Pakistan, Sri

defuse the increasingly fraught sin-gle currency debate when he re-jected Mr Santer's claims that the failure of monetary union could threaten the survival of the single market After a weekend in which the

risks of postponing or abandoning monetary union have been one of the main talking points at the World Economic Forum, Sir Leon said Brussels had always viewed the single market and the single currency as separate entities. "Those coun-tries who don't participate in the single currency, either because they don't qualify or choose to use their opt-out, are fully entitled to the bene-

fits of the single market," he added. Amid jitters over Mr Kohl's warning, repeated in Munich at the weekend, the British Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, said in Davos that the nation state - as opposed to nationalism - still had "a very important" part to play. "Na-tion states and nationalism are not the same thing. And what we're looking for is the way in which nations can collaborate together more and more," he said.

British ministers are increasingly confident that the Euro-aceptical tone adopted by the British Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, will help them weather the forthcoming Maastricht review without a split. Mr Portillo also rejected Mr Kohl's. suggestion that Britain was "the slowest boat" in Europe.

So did Mr Rifkind. But Britain's EU allies remain suspicious. Mr Santer's theme was taken up by

"If you don't maintain that inte-At the weekend, Jacques Santer, gration process, you will have the president of the European Commis- reverse - disintegration", Mr Desion, upped the stakes by bracket | haene said. , Without monetary

The interventions of both Mr don't know whether the single mar-ket would suffer such a blow". Sir Leon Brittan, the EC vice-Countries to meet the convergence

## SA school in court for barring blacks of history

#### David Beresford In Johannesburg

A PROVINCIAL government i South Africa is due to take a local primary school to court this week to force it to admit three black children under the country's nonracial constitution.

The Northern Province an nounced last week that it would be lodging an urgent application with the supreme court for an order forcing the all-white Potgietersrus primary school to open its door to blacks. The move came after parents of children at the school voted to defy the government on the ssue.

"We want the court to rule that the school's action is unconstitu-tional and that they have to admit blacks," said a spokesman for the provincial administration, Jake Mokobi.

A confrontation between parents and the regional government blew up last month when a group of parents wearing the khaki dress of rightwing organisations blocked the school entrance to stop a father deivering his three children.

"God warns us in the Bible about mixing races," a local newspaper quoted a parent as saying. "Under no circumstances will my children mix with blacks."

But Danle Bisschoff, a lawyer representing the school, insisted that the black children were only refused admission because of a shortage of space. "The black kids are not the issue," he said. "The school couldn't allow white kids in either because there just isn't room."

But the government spokesman insisted there was room for the three black children. "It's a disguise for crude racism," he said.

The extra-parliamentary Conservative party, which is strong in the area, is attempting to exploit the clash, it described the incident as a "new awakening by Afrikaners" and appealing to whites elsewhere to 'emulate the courage" of the Potgietersrus parents and "follow the same path of resistance".

**Greece** gets back piece

GUARDIAN WEBKLY February 11 1998

Helena Smith In Athens

**G** REECE is poised to renew its campaign to retrieve the Elgin Marbles after succeeding in getting a hoard of priceless Mycenaean reasures repatriated from the United States.

This small piece of Greek history arrived back at the weekend, after years of "blood curdling" adventure according to Greece's new culture minister, Stavros Benos. "This is a major triumph, not only for Greece. but for all countries seeking the return of cultural property," he said,

Few Greeks have heard of the stolen Aidonia Treasures, but their return from Washington is due to be marked this week. No pomp will be spared as the collection of rare and ancient gold jewellery and ornaments is welcomed in the capital.

Mr Benos, who has assumed the just most famously held by the late actress Melina Mercouri, will have "Elgin's loot" uppermost on his mind as he presides over the fanfare.

"The return of these wonderfu pieces will most certainly strengthen our demand for the Parthenon marbles," Mr Benes said. "It shows that Melina's dream, which everyone thought utopian can be realised. We will get the marbles back from the British Museum."

Mr Benos has none of Mercouris fiery passion or glamour. But like his friend and predecessor, he has made the repatriation of the 75moug, fifth century frieze, metopes und figures a personal "mission".

"The days of 'no, no, no' are over," said Eleni Cubitt of the Loadon-based British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon marbles, "Even those who were op posed to their return now realise the arguments they used are no onger valid."

The repairiation of the Mycenaean treasures, which include ornate rings, necklaces, glass beads and scalstones, ends nearly two decades of thievery, crooked art deals and unprecedented legal action.

## Birthplace of Buddhism's founder traced to Nepal

### John Ezard

UDDHISM'S counterpart to D Christ's stable has been discovered in south-west Nepal, an aternational team of archaeologista announced on Monday. They said a stone buried on a

platform of bricks 5m under a temple marked the place w Prince Siddharta Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, was born 2,600 years ago.

The team said the relics were under the Mayadevi temple in Lumbini, 300km south-west of Kathmandu. The platform dated from the era of Emperor Ashoka, who ruled much of the subcontinent.

The archaeologists - from

Lanka and Japan — said they made the discovery nine months ago, but the government delayed making an announcement until

it had finished consulting experts,

Some scholars claim the Buddha was born in northern India. But the prime minister of Nepal, Sher Bahadur Deuba, said the identification was reliable. "The discovery proves that Lord Buddha was born at this

Buddhist literature says the Buddha's mother, Queen Mahamaya, dreamt in 623BC that "a white elephant, beautiful. as silver" entered her womb. through her aide. On her way to her parenta' home, she passed. through what was then the park of Lumbini. She went into labour, bathed in a sacred pond and walked 25 paces to give birth.

According to this account, Emperor Ashoka placed a stone on bricks at the birthplace, and a pillar which still stands.

### GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1996

## Iraqis celebrate Jailed Ogonis plead for help in advance of UN oil talks

### David Hirst

[ RAQIS were queuing in Baghdad last week desperate to sell hoarded dollars and buy dinars, as the national currency staged a spectacular rise and the cost of food plunged.

Bank employees said they were collecting hundreds of thousands of dollars every day. Their reserves of hard currency have never been as high since coffers started depleting under pressure from United Nations sanctions, imposed on Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Some people queued all day but were unable to exchange their dollars, as banks ran short of dinars.

For ordinary Iraqis, the turnaround is the most sustained and dramatic in the bleak era that began with the Gulf war.

The Iraqi currency's spectacular recovery began after Baghdad agreed to enter talks with the UN on selling limited amounts of oil to buy urgently needed food and medicines. The talks were to begin this week.

Under UN resolution 986, Baghdad is entitled to sell \$1 billion worth of oil every three months for buying food and medicine to be distributed to the people under UN supervision. President Saddam Hussein had

been considering this for some time, after arguing for years that supervised oil sales were an infringemen of sovereignty.

When he solemnly announced the oil-for-food talks to the people --on January 20 - the effect was immediate. Celebratory gunfire echoed around Baghdad and, by the end of the day, the currency was rising. Instead of costing 2,620 dinars to buy \$1, it cost 2,000, By last week, the official rate was 800 and strengthening. Last month, in the wake of the an-

nouncement, joyful people descended in such numbers on the Shorja souk, Baghdad's traditional food market, that traffic came to a standstill. Musiclans struck up, and the crowds danced as women handed out pastries.

"Thank God," said an old man in tears. "We are going to eat again, and all will go back to what it was."

The value of the dinar is the chief yardstick of Iraq's fortunes. Before the Gulf war, one dinar fetched \$3.20. It is still far from that, but is now 300 per cent stronger than before President Saddam announced the talks. Prices of food and basic commodities, such as rice, vegetable oil and sugar, have fallen by up to 50 per cent. This is true bounty in a coun-try where a civil servant's entire official salary buys 24 eggs.

The strategy of hope carries high risks for President Saddam. The ne gotiations will be fraught with political and technical difficulties and there is no guarantee that the UN deal will go through.

If agreement is reached, that will almost certainly strengthen the Iraqi leader in the short term. The celebrations proved that. But the onger term is different.

"I think the people will start demanding more and more, and the Americans will capitalise on this to Wring more and more concessions from him," an Iraqi exile said. "In any case, it is hard for him not to accept now. Can you imagine the people's reaction if prices jumped again to where they were — and probably much higher still?"

## Chris McGreal in Port Harcourt | save our lives - cause our freedom, | led with the complete lack of med

**NETEEN** Ogonis facing trial and the gallows for allegedly participating in the same murders for which Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other men were hanged in November have smuggled a letter out of prison pleading for the Commonwealth to secure their freedom.

The appeal, headed "SOS" and signed by all 19 men, is addressed to a Commonwealth ministerial delegation appointed to urge Nigeria's military regime to restore democracy and respect human rights.

We are hereby calling on you all, through your offices and humane ness, come quickly to our ald and for we have suffered a lot," says the letter, handwritten on a page torn from an exercise book.

The 19 Ogonis are held in harsh conditions at Port Harcourt prison. They are split between severely overcrowded cells, each with dozens of inmates. All sleep on the floor. They are let out for a few minutes each morning to wash from a bucket in a neighbouring field. Family visits are allowed once a month, but are more frequent if bribes are paid. Payment is also ex-pected for food. Malnourishment and disease are common among the prison population

"We are grossly underfed coup

ical care. As a result we are becoming malnourished and anaemic. These conditions have contributed to the death of one of us," the letter said. Clement Tusima died last August from untreated diabetes. according to Amnesty International. The mechanic, aged 40, was taken briefly to hospital and chained to the bed, but he was returned to prison where he died.

Lawyers say the men's best hope is that the regime will not risk fur ther international condemnation and will out the trial on hold indefinitely. Meanwhile, posters threatening the life of the exiled Nigerian Nobel

Wole literature prize winner,

Soyinka, have been plastered across Lagos two days after a government minister implicated him in bomb attacks.

**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 5

The posters, signed by "committed patriots", denounce opponents of the country's military dictator, General Sani Abacha, including the National Liberation Council of Nigeria (Nalicon) led by Professor Soyinka.

The threats come amid rising paranoia within the regime since the recent death of Gen Abacha's son in a presidential plane crash, and bomb explosions in the northern cities of Kano and Kaduna.

 The publisher of the Guardian, Nigeria's leading independent news paper, has survived an attempt by gunmen to kill him, the paper said at the weekend. It said Alex Ibru was shot in his car in Lagos last week by unknown assailants.

FIRST TIME OPPORTUNITY FOR OFFSHORE INVESTORS V ACO A You're not too late to catch the boat! CAPITAL **GUARANTEED** £5000 Limited issue Worrled about falling interest rates? Missed out v performance of five of Britain's top blue chip on recent share issues? Then Britannia International's companies over the next three years without risking Blue Chip Bond could be just the opportunity you've your capital investment. But hurry - this is a limited offer which must been waiting for. Find out how you can benefit from the close by 20 March 1996. For further information please telephone, fax or complete coupon below

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## 6 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## **Dixie resounds to far-right rhetoric**



HIS publication goes to press before the registered Republicans of the state of Louisiana go to their unfamiliar caucus rooms for their first early primary. But even before the results are known, some striking developments became plain.

Because the traditional first primary states of Iowa and New Hampshire vowed vengeance on any politicians who dared run in Louisiana, this became the right-wing primary. Senator Bob Dole ducked, so did Steve Forbes, and the field was left open to Pat Buchanan and Senator Phil Gramm. And in the new Republican party of the South, conservative can be very rightwing indeed.

Thanks to cosmetic surgery, the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan is the image of any conventionally handsome American politician as he inquires, politely, whether the nefarious cunning of the latest Jewish plot has yet become obvious to the visitor.

"The Jews have to stop Pat Buchanan, you see. Pat wants to stop all foreign aid, which means all the \$5 billion a year that we give to Israel," says David Duke, the former Nazi who is now a kingmaker in the new Republican party. Duke is not a candidate in the presidential primary, but he is running again for the US Senate in November. He got 45 per cent of the vote last time he ran, and more than 60 per cent of the white vote, so he is not to be lightly dismissed.

Louisiana Republicans Joke that theirs is the Redneck primary (after the nickname for working-class whites of the Deep South), to pick a suitably reactionary presidential candidate. Its enemies might call it the Brownshirt primary. After all, candidates cite similar metaphors from Berlin in the thirties --- not least when they turn from the conservative hinterlands of Louisiana to the Weimar on the bayou that is the great city of New Orleans.

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"Homosexuality is not a civil right," according to Buchanan. "Its rise almost always is accompanied, as in the Weimar Republic, with a decay of society and collapse of its basic cinder block, the family ... Amidst the moral crud of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi bullies must have had a certain appeal." It is a great irony that this conser-

vative battle is anchored on New Orleans, the louche and relaxed city whose nickname is the Big Easy.

There are three candidates running in Louislana. There is the very conservative senator from Texas, Phil Gramm, who has the backing of the state's party hierarchy and is the favourite. Traditionally one of the most rightwing figures in US | turning" against the Repub-

politics, who boasts that "I was a conservative before conservative was cool", in this race he is the moderate. His main rival is the rightwing firebrand and TV talkshow host Pat Buchanan, who is being strongly supported by Duke, although Buchanan insists, "I did not solicit his backing". Buchanan is seeking support in the vast evangelical churches of the suburbs, with congregations of 10,000 and more. They are filled with religious conservatives, where the preachers lenounce the wickedness of Washington and the evil of abortion, and Suchanan's "America First" rhetoric is greeted with Hallelujahs. And then there is Alan Keyes, a

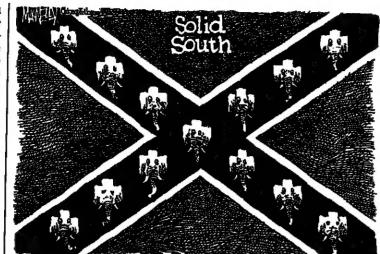
black conservative, who is so passionately opposed to abortion that he wears in his lapel a golden badge depicting two tiny feet, the exact size of those on a 12-week-old human foetus.

"Every issue in American life, from our crime rates to our taxes. from our schools to our economic prospects, comes down to one core moral crisis, the collapse of the American family, the abandonment of our children, and the cult of devaluing human life, which starts with the sin of abortion," says Keyes.

Keyes, who was a medium-ranking state department official in the Reagan years, with the courtesy title of ambassador as the US representative at a United Nations agency, is a captivating speaker. But he has no serious political organisation and little prospect of winning. His purpose, Keyes says, is to force the electorate to address his arguments about abortion and the family.

"Alan Keyes is the Jewish plot," ays Duke. "Did you know his college room-mate at Harvard was William Kristol, who then became chief of staff to Vice-President Dan Quayle? Did you know that Kristol was campaign manager for Alan Keyes when he ran for the Senate in Maryland in 1988? Kristol is running Keyes like a puppet to take Christian votes away from Pat Buchanan because the friends of Israel have always hated Pat."

Indeed, Buchanan opposed the Gulf war and condemned "Israel's



country into Desert f Buchanan has expressed Storm public doubt about the Holocaust, has insisted that the Catholic church "has nothing to apologise for" over its relations with Jews, and has embarrassed most of his friends on the right with his fervent admiration for Hitler as "a man of great courage and extraordinary gifts".

Last weekend, Buchanan was loing what he does best, sitting before a microphone with the TV cameras rolling, making the outrageous sound reasonable as he assured the listeners of WTIX that there are "no exceptions" in his opposition to abortion. "Even if that pregnancy is the result of rape, you don't kill the innocent baby. If we are going to kill someone, let's kill the rapist," suggests the most conservative of presdential candidates.

This was not Buchanan's usual erch at the CNN studio in Washington. We were in a suburban radio station in Louisiana, and the TV cameras had gathered because of he sudden and startling prospect that Buchanan could be about to pull off another upset and emerge the winner of the Louisiana primary, ust as he won the Alaska primary last week.

Buchanan's Southern strategy hinged on the two burly figures flanking him at the microphone, the men who put him within striking distance of another unexpected success in Louisiana. They embody Defence Ministry and its Amen cor- that biblical phrase about rendering ner in the US" for dragging the unto God and rendering unio

## Democrat's victory throws Dole into despair

THE bitterly divided Republican party, which lost a Senate seat to the Democrats in a crucial byelection last week. has mounted a desperate drive to draft the retired and unwilling **General Colin Powell back into** the United States presidential

race, writes Martin Walker. President Clinton and the Democrats were celebrating their first triumph at the p more than three years - the Senate byelection in Oregon triggered by the resignation of the Republican senator Bob Packwood after accusations of sexual harassment

The Democrat, Ron Wyden. won by a 1 per cent margin, despite being outspent by 85 million to \$3 million by his Republican rival, and despite his decision to eschew "negative campaigning"

and personal attacks, President Clinton hailed the victory as proof that "the tide is licans. The Democrats' last good electoral news was Mr Clinton's election in 1992. They lost New York and Los Angeles in 1993, and lost control of both houses of Congress in 1994.

The result was a setback for the religious right wing, which had strongly supported the Republican,

Senator Robert Dole, whose can no longer be dubbed the Republican frontrunner, has reportedly had one meeting and several telephone calls with Gen Powell, hoping to lure him on to a joint ticket with offers of a co-

That, at least, is the claim of senior Republicans, including the former Pentagon assistant secretary in the Reagan administration, Frank Gaffney, and the conservative Washington Times. The Dole camp denies the offer of a co-presidency, but not the meeting or the telephone calls.

Caesar. Retired policeman Irving Magri stands for Caesar and the Reverend Bill Shanks speaks for the fundamentalist Christians of the South, and they share Buchanan's incompromising and devout conservatism. Shanks runs a church called the

New Covenant Fellowship, one of the inter-denominational and fundamentalist groups that is spearheading the explosion of evangelical Christianity in central and South America and elsewhere. Shanks is just back from celebrating the opening of their 50th church in Russia.

"We know that everything that ails us is because we have departed from the principles of the Bible," he says. "Pat Buchanan is a messenger for those principles, and I firmly believe he has a very good shot this year at winning the White House."

Shanks's church shares with its affiliate churches their own TV channel and radio station, on which the sermons and the services are interspersed with Buchanan's speeches and interviews and his romises to "get back to those funamental rules of life we find in the Bible"

"I do believe you have a heart for God, Mr Buchanan," says the woman called Stacey, phoning the radio show to promise her own vote. "Just like the Bible says in Romans 13, you are a minister of God for

WTIX is not a religious radio network. It is the vehicle for Magri, whose "Crimefighters" organisation

The Republican right wing is alarmed enough at the prospect of Gen Powell — with his liberal views on abortion, welfare and civil rights - to start firing warr ing shots against him.

"It is important for whoever is the party's nominee to choose a running mate who unites rather than divides the party," **Christian Coalition director** 

Ralph Reed said. But Mr Dole is desperate, seeing his last chance at the White House crumbling. Between the New Hampshire primary on February 20 and the California primary five weeks later, a ecision should be made on who

will challenge Mr Clinton, Pushed into second place in some New Hampshire polls by the multi-millionaire publisher and political novice Steve Forbes, Mr Dole was voted into a humiliating third place by Alaska's Republican activists last week.

GUARDIAN WEBQ February 11 18

of 4,000 members rivals churches as Buchanan's secret political weapon in Louisiana. Magi has invented a new kind of radio. He sends members out in the back set of police patrol cars with a cellular phone. Whenever there is an area or an alert, the phoned report goes out live on air, the squealing car tyres and the gunshots, the interview with the arrested suspect and with the cops. In between the action, Magri rails against the lib-eral pointy-headed judges who let criminals walk free because a cop who has just been dodging bullets maybe didn't read out the suspects ights slowly enough".

The Louisiana primary is a brandnew event, devised by the old state Republican machine to deliver 21 guaranteed delegates and an early victory to their friend and neighbour, Senator Gramm of Texas. But Gramm has disappointed the religious right by telling them he wants to be "a president, not a preacher and by voting to approve President Clinton's two nominees to the Supreme Court. He also, some 20 years ago, made an incautious in vestment in an X-rated movie called Truckstop Women. And the party machine is now run by a new gover nor, Mike Foster, who is backing Buchanan in the primary, and who like Buchanan, was also backed by

HE winner of the Louisiana primary can expect to be come the standard-bearer for the conservative cause, and can expect to win the votes of all 15 Southern states. That means sufficient delegates to be more than halfway to a majority at the Republican convention in San Diego in August which will pick the party's presidential candidate. Gramm and Buchanan had originally assumed that the winner of Louisiana and the rest of the South would then battle directly with Senator Dole for the nomination. Now, their pulses beat even faster at the prospect of Dole and Forbes exhausting each other in a fight to the death in the North.

"This is turning into a very favourable circumstance," says Buchanan. "Steve Forbes is a social liberal who agrees with Bill Clinton about gays in the military and does not want to upset his New York friends by opposing abortion. Bob Dole has never been a real conservative. While they wipe each other out in the North, I'm taking Louisiana as a springboard to the rest of the South."

Buchanan has always suspecte that he could do better in Democratic primaries than in Republican ones. His visceral populism is attuned to the blue collar vote. And down here in the Louisiana bayous and in the fundamentalist churches of the New Orleans suburbs Buchanan is beginning to think this could be his year.

But there is another winner in all this, as the Rednecks and the fundaitalists and the criz and even the odd brownshirt, take over the Republican party. Not only are they fighting on Duke's turf, but they are also echoing his idens. Buchanan and Gramm are each campaigning on Duke's old cause, that the first priority is to scrap all laws that give blacks any advantages in getting jobs or education

"I may have lost battle after battle. But when I look at the issues that now define the Republican party, from welfare reform to immigration, from English as the official language to stopping discrimination against white people, I think I can say I won the war," says Duke.

#### GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1996

The Week In Britain James Lewis

## **Students set political poser**

HE GROWTH in the number ABOUR had good grounds for cause of changes in benefit rules. of school-leavers going on to higher education — up in eight years from 14 per cent to 31 per cent - has been one of the Conservatives' more enduring achievements, particularly during John Major's premiership. Employers, backed by most

universities, would like to raise the target to 40 per cent, similar to America. But the costs of expansion have exceeded what the Government is willing to pay, so the concept of "free" university education has effectively been abandoned.

Tuition costs are still free, and some students get a small grant towards books and living costs which they can top up with a lowinterest loan, repayable after graduation. But there has also been a widening gap between the subsidies paid to universities and the costs of providing tuition. To plug it, vicechancellors last week threatened to make students pay an "admission fee" of about £300.

Mr Major angered the vice-chan-cellors by claiming there was no excuse for such a levy, and there were good grounds for suspecting that the vice-chancellors' threat was, in reality, a device to force the Government, and other political parties, to face up to the problems of university funding. They have since backed away from the levy in the face of opposition from politicians, parents and students.

An extension of the student loan scheme, repayable through a form of graduate tax (as in Australia) or through income tax or national insurance (as in Sweden and Germany) seems inevitable. A Government plan along these lines was expected to be announced this week.

The Government's plan would aim to release the £1.7 billion spent on student financial support --- about 30 per cent of the higher education budget - to boost funds for teaching and research, which universities say have reached crisis point.

The Liberal Democrats will unveil a similar policy later this month, though Labour is still shy of committing itself to anything that could cost it votes at a general election.

An unhappy fact which the Government prefers not to admit is that a degree is no longer a passport to a job. Barring a major upturn in the labour market, many student loans will remain unpaid.

Comment, page 10

crying "We told you so" when the rail privatisation programme got under way in earnest. The nandover of the London-Southend-Tilbury "misery line" to LTS Rail - one of three franchisees due to start operating last Sunday - was put on hold because of a fraud investigation (into an alleged failure by LTS to hand over a proper share of ticket revenue to the publiclyowned London Transport).

The Government conceded that an inquiry might force it to withdraw the licence from the present holders, Enterprise Rail, and hold a second round of bidding for the franchise. The sum involved around £30,000 a month, was "not particularly large", said the junior transport minister, Steven Norris, when he greeted the dawn of a "bright new railway future".

It was not a particularly bright be ginning for passengers (now customers) on the other privatised routes - South West Trains and Great Western who encountered delays, missing buffets, bus journeys to bypass engineering works, and conusion over ticketing and timetables. It was not too difficult to believe British Rail's departing chairman, Sir Bob Reid, when he spoke of the 'nightmare" of a once-national rail service operated by 25 competing companies intent only on maximising profits.

Keith Harper, page 12

ELEUR LOMBARD, who was 21, became the first female firefighter to die on active duty when the roof of a burning supermarket in Bristol collapsed after she went nside to check for trapped people. She was one of only a handful of women who have taken the opportunity to become firefighters since Britain allowed them to serve on active duty in 1982.

The tragedy followed the deaths, two days earlier, of two part-time firemen who went into a burning house in South Wales to look for a child mistakenly reported to be trapped inside. A boy they had earlier rescued also died from smoke

There are 14,792 part-time fire fighters in rural areas of England and Wales. They are paid a retained of £1,500 a year, plus a minimum £11 for a call-out. Their trade union fears that many will now quit be-

Retained men who are unemployed can, under present rules, keep their unemployment benefit and in-come from firefighting. Later this year they will only be allowed to keep £15 before losing benefits.

WATCHING or following a per-son could become a criminal offence under proposals being examined by the Home Office. This follows the rape of a woman under police "protection" by a man who was said to have stalked her for five

A few weeks earlier, an over zealous policemen had arrested an dmirer of the Princess Royal, who ollowed her around the country and sent her love letters, but magistrates found he had committed no offence.

Stalkers can be prosecuted if they are deemed to pose an "overt hreat. Ministers are considering whether to extend that to cover peo ple who do not create such a threat but still distress their victims by their presence. An alternative could be to prosecute for "intentional harassment" under the latest Criminal Justice Act, though this provision was principally aimed at racist behaviour.

T HE FILE on one of Scotland's biggest murder mysteries was reopened when Strathclyde police exhumed a 15-year-old corpse from a Lanarkshire grave to carry ou DNA tests which, they hope, will prove it is the remains of a serial killer known only as "Bible John".

One man was thought to be responsible for strangling three young women picked up in a Glasgow ballroom between February 1968 and October 1969. Though never traced, he was nicknamed Bible John be cause of his fondness for quoting Old Testament scripture.

DNA samples from the body o John Irvine McInnes, who killed himself in 1980, will be compared with semen stains found on Bible John's last victim, Helen Puttock.

If police suspicions are proved to be right - it will take three weeks for scientists to establish whether he is guilty of murder or not - it will put an end to 26 years of specuation and scupper a book, about to be published, which points to different suspect altogether.



### **Leonard Doyle**

AMBRIDGE University Press is refusing to publish an im-portant new work on Greek anthropology following advice from the security services and the Foreign Office that publication could provoke a terrorist attack against Cambridge University staff in Greece.

The decision has provoked out rage and incredulity in academic circles and is expected to have wider repercussions for the CUP's reputation as an academic publisher. The editorial board for the CUP's anthropology series has resigned in protest and leading academics are warning that the Press's 40-year history of publishing important works of this kind could end if authors turn instead to US publishers.

The book, entitled Fields Wheat, Hills Of Blood, deals with the thorny issue of Macedonian identity. It is an ethnographic study of villages in northern Greece which contradicts the official line that there is no Slavo-Macedonia minority in Greece.

In tendering his resignation, Michael Herzfeld, the British-born professor of anthropology at Harvard University, said consoring the book "represents an unacceptable restriction of academic freedom" which would damage the Press's reputation and implicitly insult the Greeks by presuming to censor on their behalf.

The decision to pull the book a the last minute followed an extraordinary request by senior officials at the CUP in Cambridge for a "terrorist threat assessment" by officials at the British embassy in Athens and from its chief salesman in Greece. Craig Walker. No Greeks were consulted, nor were the views of the

British or US academic experts canvassed. The CUP's actions are also understood to have been motivated by fears of a boycott affecting a lucrative market for its books and rev enue from setting some 300,000 English exams in Greece every year.

The Greek-born author, Anasta sia Karakasidou, received death threats two years ago for publishing her research on the Slavic speakers of Greek Macedonia, raising issues central to Greece's dispute with the neighbouring former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. Her researches revealed that there were villagers in northern Greece who speak a Slavid tongue and consider themselves culturally "Macedonians".

Internal CUP documents reveal the Press was so concerned about the risk of "terrorist violence" that it felt there was a "moral imperative" not to publish. In a memorandum dated January 12, a CUP executive Jessica Kuper, stated that "it was im possible to discount the advice reeived from the British embassy in Athens" which had "warned that sublication might put at risk the ives of Press staff in Athens, and of Cambridge University personnel in Greece".

When a committee of senior Cambridge University academics (known as the Syndics) met on December 1, 1995 to decide what to do, they were told that MI6 was worried about the possible effects of publication on Greek public opinion and the risks to British interests. hey were reminded of a handful of attacks on British interests in Greece including the murder of a British Council official in the 1980s.

The Foreign Office says it never advised the CUP not to publish but that "we were asked a difficult question and we gave an honest answer which we stand by".

## **Gulf war illness review**

### **David Fairhall**

HE Ministry of Defence has launched fresh research into the mysterious Gulf war syndrome, bowing to pressure from veterans who fear it may be causing deformities in their children.

A statistical survey will be made to check whether certain illnesses are abnormally prevalent among the veterans, and there will be studies of three conditions - birth defects, chronic fatigue syndrome (better known as ME), and groups of medically unexplained symptoms. The research is expected to take two or three years, funded by the MoD and overseen by the Medical Research Council.

The symptoms veterans compla of include chronic weakness, de- Military volunteers in experipression and loss of memory. The main suspected cause is interaction between the cocktail of vaccinations and anti-nerve gas tablets (NAPS) given to troops who served in the desert campaign.

Among the 37 nations taking part in Operation Desert Storm in 1991, only American, British and Canatian troops have complained of also reported from Norway. The same NAPS tablets as the British. The armed forces minister, I health can be traced back to Porton.

Nicholas Soames, denied his department had been forced to change its approach by public criticism and the threat of veterans' legal action.

"This is not a U-turn. It is the orderly, progressive result of three years of scientific work." The minister pointed out that an RAF physician, Wing Commander Bill Coker, began examining sick veterans in October 1993.

However, there is no doubt that he MoD was deeply stung by the Commons defence committee's condemnation of its assessment pro gramme as "hopelessly inadequate" and alarmed by the 70 cases of veterans' children born with major abnormalities, such as missing limbs, identified by lawyers seeking com-

ments at the Porton Down chemical warfare establishment have lodged a complaint with the European Commission of Human Rights which could open the way to large claims for compensation against the Ministry of Defeuce.

The complaint is in the name of Michael , Roche, aged 57, of Rochdale, Greater Manchester, a widespread illness, with a few cases | former soldier in the Royal Engineers, who was used to test samples Americans and Canadians took the | of mustard and nerve gas in the | early 1960s and now believes his ill



### **UK NEWS** 7

## 8 UK NEWS Ashdown in | MPs lobby

### **Geoffrey Gibbs**

S URVEILLANCE on Paddy Ash-clown's home is to be stepped up after a concerted campaign of threats against his property culminated in a firebornb attack last week which destroyed his car.

Police arrested three men, aged 18, 19 and 21, in connection with the attack. All three are from Yeovil, in Mr Ashdown's constituency.

It emerged before the arresta were made that anonymous telephone threats had been made to Mr Ashdown's property and London office in the past few weeks. There were no threats to his life, but the calls were being taken seriously.

Mr Ashdown has played a much publicised role in exposing a spate of racist attacks on the tiny ethnic community in Yeovil, which is the third largest town in Somerset. But police played down suggestions that the "despicable" attack which destroyed the MP's car was racially motivated.

A newspaper on Monday apologised unreservedly for publishing untrue allegations against Mr Ashdown, after he issued a libel writ over what he called "an utterly disgraceful" article.

Under the headline "Sex Smear on Paddy", the Western Daily Press had repeated allegations said to have been made against the MP by Peter Stoodley, former owner of a Yeovil massage parlour closed down by the Liberal Democrat district council two years ago.

On Tuesday the newspaper said it accepted "that those allegations are completely untrue"

Last month Mr Ashdown's car window was smashed with a stone in what is believed to have been a linked attack.

In December, during a late night fact-finding tour of the town with a priest on behalf of the newly formed Partnership Against Racial Harassment in Somerset, a knife was allegedly drawn against the MP only yards from his constituency offices.

## arson attack | for pay rise

#### Michael White

"HE latest backbench campaign to raise MPs' pay backfired last week amid furious denunciations of political insensitivity from poverty lobbyists and disaffected voters.

Downing Street reacted warily to the motion, signed by nearly 300 of the 651 sitting MPs, to refer the hyper-sensitive issue of their own and ministerial pay to Lord Nolan's committee on standards in public life but revealed that the Leader of the Commons, Tony Newton, has already begun an investigation. The issue could also be passed to the Senior Salaries Review Body.

The row re-opened the issue of outside work done by some MPs. Unions said it was aston ishing that while workers' pay was going down, MPs were trying to raise their own salaries, and poverty campaigners, angry at years of ever-lower wages for the unskilled, protested that MPs were trying to cocoon emselves from reality.

What prompted grassroots anger was the way the motion was presented as a demand for near-doubling of the current £34,085 a year, a claim being privately advanced mainly by Tories feeling the post-Nolan squeeze on outside carnings.

Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown both stressed the importance of having an independent mechanism for indexing MPs' pay to an outside group. But the Liberal Democrat leader said that he was happy with the present level, while Mr Blair's office said: "Higher pay for MPs is not a priority for an incoming

Labour government." Allowing for inflation, MPs' pay has been static for 30 years while average pay has risen by 80 per cent, Sir Terence Higgins, spokesman for the campaign, stressed.

## GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 190 Scargill crushed by Labour

Patrick Wintour and Martin Walnwright

RTHUR Scargill's Socialist Labour Party appeared close to still-born last week after it narrowly avoided losing its deposit in the Hemsworth byelection, polling less than 5.5 per cent in one of Yorkshire's strongest mining areas.

Labour, cutting the overall government majority in the Commons to four, retained the seat with an impressive 71.92 per cent share of the vote, an increase of 1 per cent on its share in the general election. The Conservatives remained in second place with the Liberal Democrats

The turnout of 39.5 per cent was one of the lowest for a recent byelection, reflecting voter apathy, the cold and the brevity of the campaign.

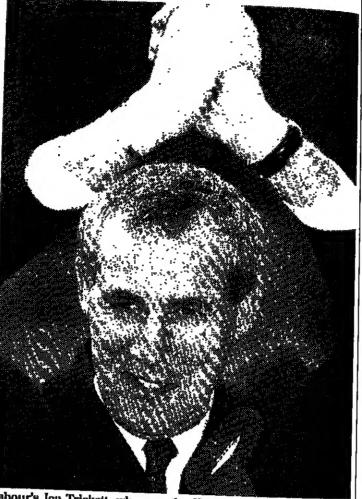
A defiant Mr Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers and agent in the campaign, claimed the result was a remarkable success for his fledgling party.

He said: "To describe this result as miserable is deplorable. To nearly equal the Liberal Democrats when we did not launch the party until May is remarkable. Five per cent is excellent. We did not lose our deposit. A century ago Keir Hardie lost his deposit and went on to form a mass party and the rest is history."

In the 1992 general election, Labour won the rock-solid seat with a 22,075 majority taking 70.8 per cent of the vote. Last week its majority of 13,875 was described by the shadow chief whip, Donald Dewar, as excellent. The overall swing was 5.4 per cent from Conservative to Labour. Labour described the perfor-

mance of the Socialist Labour Party as derisory and proof that Mr Scargill was a pinprick. Although 35-year-old Brenda Nixon, a locally popular member of Women Against Pit Closures, had stood as the new party's candidate, Mr Scargill acted as agent, grabbing all the publicity in the process. John Prescott, the deputy Labour

leader, said the Hemsworth result



Labour's Jon Trickett, who won the Hemsworth byelection with an increased majority PHOTOGRAPH DON MERHS

evealed the depth of unpopularity

of the Conservative government. The victorious candidate hailed his increased majority as an endorsement of Blair's leadership, Hemaworth now stands totally behind Tony Blair's drive to modernise Britain, Hemsworth has spoken for the nation." Labour last week jettisoned its

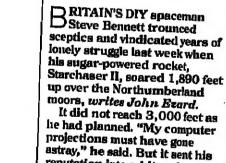
policy of all-women shortlists after awyers warned it could not risk an appeal that might leave as many as 0 parliamentary selections in limbo

right up to the general election. The move follows the recent in- | boost to Labour's 39 women MPs.

dustrial tribunal ruling that the policy, aimed at increasing the number of Labour women MPs in the House of Commons, breached Britain's sex discrimination laws. The NEC has agreed not to appeal against the rulng, on the basis of legal advice.

The NEC was also warned that if appealed and lost the legality of the 35 selections already made from all-women shortlists would be jeopardised. As It is, the 35 women candidates in Labour target seats are regarded as legally unaffected, virtually ensuring an unprecedented

## Sweet smell of success



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projections must have gone astray," he said. But it sent his reputation into orbit and set a record as the largest airworthy home-made rocket in Europe.

Putting a rocket into orbit is Mr Bennett's next project. His triumph follows 17 years of mis-18. Even his wif Adrienne used to tell onlookers at his launches, echoing Corporal Jones in Dad's Army, "Don't panic. If the rocket's parachute should fail, keep watching it and run as fast as Vou can.

Now the way is clear for Mr Bennett, a 31-year-old laboratory technician from Greater Manchester, who tests toothpastes and soap powders, to aim at becoming the second designer to send a British rocket into

orbit. He is in an international race with amateurs striving to put their craft the 50 miles into space needed to reach orbit. To do this he will build a new rocket, Starchaser III. His even tual ambition is to launch himself into space.

In his two dozen rocket aunches so far, Mr Bennett, who was inspired by the Thunderbirds, has spurned the iquid oxygen fuel often used by amateur rocketeers. All he will disclose about his own is that it is "sugar mixed with other chemicals".

His sponsors for the the sugar multinational Tate and Lyle, were delighted at his proof of their slogan Out Of Sweetness Comes Forth Strength.

The 21ft rocket was cheered as it rose from a pad in a glow of fire against the snow-covered hills round Otterburn military training area before vanishing uto clouds. Then it split in to two pieces which parachuted back to earth.

The flight was to test propulsion systems, parachutes and on-board computers.

Richard Norton-Taylor and Michael White HE Cabinet is preparing to sac-rifice the Attorney-General, Sir Nicholas Lyell, in order to cling on to William Waldegrave, Chief Secre-

tary to the Treasury, in the expectation of damning criticism in the long-awaited Scott report on the rms-to-Iraq scandal. Mr Waldegrave this week

protested his innocence following further leaks of Sir Richard Scott's draft report accusing him of misleading Parliament over the sale of arms to Iraq. "If I'm fired then I'm ured. But I know in my heart I have not done anything wrong," he said. As Labour, warned against a dam-

age limitation exercise designed to let ministers off "scott-free" it was increasingly clear that Sir Richard's report will leave Sir Nicholas particularly exposed on the most politically sensitive charge.

Reports on Sunday highlighted Mr Waldegrave's vulnerability as a foreign office minister in the late 1980s when arms sale policy towards Iraq was changed without Parliament being told. Sir Richard is likely to confirm

**Cabinet may sacrifice Lyell to Scott** this, although the final report may have toned down the criticism.

Sir Nicholas is widely seen in Whitehall as the man most likely to have to go in the light of his role in the 1992 prosecution of three directors of the Matrix Churchill machine tool company. Had the trial not collapsed it could have led to the businessmen being wrongfully imprisoned.

Sir Nicholas conceded to the Scott inquiry he had "overall minis-terial responsibility" for the Treasury Solicitors' Department, which is expecting fierce criticism of the way it handled the pr

Labour has challenged the Government to explain its arrange-ments for publication of the long-awaited report on the arms-to-Iraq affair, amid signs that Whitehall is planning an extensive news management exercise.

Robin Cook, shadow foreign secretary, said it was important "that the public have a chance of a fair and open presentation of the report. Ministers must not be the only people who have the chance to prepare their response before publication." Ministerial efforts to minimise

the impact of the report were appar- | ernment lawyers.

for reporters to digest before its release at 3.30pm on February 15. To provide it with legal immuni - thus protecting Sir Richard from libel actions - the report will be published under the rarely used

ent last week when it emerged that

no advance copics will be available

Parliamentary Papers Act of 1840. The report will be sent in advance o what was called "ministers with policy responsibilities and officials who have to offer advice on the contents.

Mr Cook said the report should answer two key questions: "Did the Government permit arms exports to Saddam Hussein while keeping Par liament and public in the dark? And did it gag evidence to protect the national interest or to save themselves from political embarrassment?"

He added: "If the report justifies the departure of government minis-ters the real test for John Major and the integrity of his Government is if he will ask them to resign."

However, the bulk of the report is believed to amount to an unprece-dented indictment of the way Whitehall works, its attitude towards Parliament and the conduct of gov-

### GUARDIAN WEEKLY

### In Brief

BRITAIN'S largest charity for the disabled admitted to covering up 10 years of child abuse at one of its schools. Mentally and physically disabled children were sworn at, denied food and physically mishandled at a school run by Scope, formerly the Spastics Society, near Leeds.

A COMMITTEE of MPs is to investigate whether the Child Support Agency should be transferred to the Inland Revenue to strengthen its powers to collect a backlog of unpaid main-tenance approaching £1 billion.

A MAN with a history of men-tal illness who knifed 15 women in a department store was given 10 life sentences. The day before, a mentally ill man who killed two people while on home leave from a mental hospital was sentenced to six terms of life imprisonment. Mental health campaigners said the policy to send mental patients to prison rather than to secure hospitals signalled a loss of faith in the ability of psychiatric services to deal with violent offenders.

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HIRTEEN Labour council-lors were banned from holding political office for a minimum of two years, after a party investigation found there had been mismanagement at Monklands council in Scotland

SARAH COOK, the 13-year old Essex girl who went through a marriage ceremony ast month with the 18-year-old boyfriend she met on holiday in Turkey, was reported by Turkish elevision to be six weeks pregnant. She is on her way home.

A FOX slaughtered the Queen's flamingos in the grounds of Buckingham Palace. he lake had frozen over, allowing the fox to cross to the compound in the middle of the water.

A FORMER Royal Artillery major, Jimmy James, has been chosen as Tory candidate for the Staffordshire South-Eas seat, vacant since the death in December of Sir David Lightbown. The byelection may be held next month.

M ILLIONAIRE zoo-keeper John Aspinall won his fight to allow his keepers to enter the tiger cages at his private zoo. Canterbury city council banned the practice after keeper Trevor mith was manifed to death hy Siberian tiger in 1994.

SHELL announced that it would dismantle its Leman BK gas platform on land rather than dispose of the installations in the North Sea.

### AN OBSESSIVE pigeon feeder, Jean Knowlson, age

68, was jailed for 56 days for repeatedly breaching court orders by distributing mounds of bread around her south London home. | times at point-blank range as he col- | for elections.

### John Carvel

ALF THE primary schools and two-fifths of secondary schools are failing to teach children to a satisfactory standard, the Office for Standards in Education said in its annual report on the condition of schooling in England.

"While teachers secure satisfactory standards of schievement in the majority of lessons observed by inspectors, there are unacceptably wide variations between what i achieved by different schools. The most successful secondary schools achieve GCSE results twice as good as others in similar socio-econom circumstances and six times better than those achieved by the least successful in less favoured areas."

Although there was not yet comparable data for primary schools, here was little reason to suppose the picture was not similar in that sector.

Some of the problem schools identified in previous years' inspections were starting to make progress, but there was serious cause for concern about the performance of schools serving disadvantaged areas.



A lesson to be learnt . . . Primaries have many problems in common with secondary schools PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCPHEE

problems. Disruptive pupil behav-iour may be exacerbated by inadequate parental support. It can be very difficult to recruit and retain good teachers", the report said.

Teachers' low expectations of pupils could reinforce the low expectations of education in the communities served by these schools. "It need not be so. Some schools serving extremely deprived areas achieve very good standards. This is because they

"Such schools can face huge are invariably led by men women of exceptional ability."

Chris Woodhead, the chief inspector, identified three problem areas: literacy (especially for ages 8 to 11), general numeracy, and teaching quality. Schools should be more vigilant in tracking pupils' progress and monitoring the teaching they receive.

Standards in the early years of secondary school were also too low, because of inadequate curriculum li-1 for all to see," she said.

aison with the primary schools and a tendency to deploy "the least well-qualified or least experienced teach-

ers" at this age level. The Ofsted report, drawing conclusions from more than 4,000 inspections, praised more than 200 schools for their outstanding success or pace of improvement.

But even the better teachers needed to improve their methods, given shortcomings in nearly half the primary schools and just over a third of secondary schools.

The report also noted a growing gap between the achievement at GCSE of girls and boys. Girls' success was particularly marked in areas of urban disadvantage. Boys from African Caribbean communi ties continued to underachieve.

Last month, the Education and Employment Secretary, Gillian Shephard, said that it would be inaupropriate to publish school perfornance tables of tests of 11-year-olds until the new system of assessment was revised.

On Monday, however, she changed her mind and promised to publish the tables to give parents more information about how well primary schools were doing.

"We have to make sure that they are being made fully accountable and that the results are transparent

## Sinn Fein denies danger of

### David Sharrock

INN FEIN'S chief negotiator. Martin McGuinness, has denied there is any danger of the IRA splitting because of grassroots republi can unrest over the peace process.

Mr McGuinness was responding on Sunday to a claim by George Mitchell, leader of the internationa pauel on decommissioning paramilitary weapons, that there are potentially damaging differences of opinion within the republican move-

Mr Mitchell, who headed the three-man advisory body and who acts as President Clinton's special Ireland envoy, said everybody needed to move quickly to full nego tiations on Northern Ireland.

Asked on BBC television whether the IRA would return to violence, he said: "I think there is a danger of a fracture within that organisation. It seems clear that not all on the republican side favour the ceasefire and the potential for some elements to take direct and violent action does remain. I hope that is not the case."

Speaking later, Mr McGuinness said: "I was surprised to hear that Senator Mitchell has said this. I believe that over the course of the last 18 months since the beginning of the ceasefire that the IRA have proved themselves to be a very disciplined and cohesive organisation. I don't believe there is a split in the IRA."

Last Saturday the IRA denied responsibility for a gun attack during which 57 shots were fired at the home of a policeman in County Tyrone. The shooting and last week's murder of the Irish National Liberation Army's chief of staff, Gino Gallagher, raised fears that the ceasefire could crumble if the peace process is not moved forward soon.

Mr Gallagher, named by security and republican sources as having been INLA chief-of-staff for less than nine months, was shot several

lected his social security benefit on the Falls Road in West Belfast. The RUC is working on the theory that he was killed by dissenting former comrades in the INLA.

The killing cast a shadow fresh political efforts to reduce tension between London and the nationalist community over plans to hold elections in Northern Ireland, and led to renewed calls for the decommissioning of illegal weapons.

It appears that the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, is reluctantly edging towards acceptance of the British government's call for elections to a Northern Ireland body, but only if the Unionists give guarantees that they will not put up fur

ther blocks to all-party talks. Mr Spring, speaking at the end of difficult four-hour talks in London with the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, Implied that his government might back elections if the Unionista were forced to give cast-iron assurances that once the elected body was established it would hold full negotiations, including with Sinn Fein, and not make IRA decommissioning of

arms a pre-condition to talks. The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, speaking after separate talks with Mr Major, insisted that he would be willing to hold a dialogue with Sinn Fein once the party had won a fresh mandate.

ted: "By takin of an elected body, one obviates the attention given by Bangladeshi need for decommissioning before elections, but the need for decounissioning does not disappear.

Meanwhile, Gerry Adams had a surprise meeting with President Clinton last week during talks in Wash-Ington on the Ulster peace process. The move took British officials

aback as the president did not meet Mr Ancram, the Northern Ireland minister, when he was in Washington earlier last week to brief White House security adviser Anthony; Lake about Mr Major's proposals;

## Lilley in dock over cuts to split in republican movement asylum seekers' benefits

### **Alan Travis**

HE High Court on Monday cleared the way for a legal chalenge to the Government's decision withdraw welfare benefits from up to 30,000 asylum seekers a year.

A full judicial review hearing to held this week could lead to a high court injunction against Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary.

The case will be heard alongside challenges brought by both West-minster, and Hammersmith and Fulham councils, also claiming Mr Lilley has acted illegally. The benefit cuts came into effect at midnight on Monday.

The action brought by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants claims the £200 million a year benefit cuts were ultra vircs and improper because they would effectively curtail asylum seekers' ability to pursue claims to be efugees.

Mr Justice Brooke agreed the ouncil had "an arguable case" that asylum seekers were entitled to be treated as genuine refugees until

their claims were determined. Nicholas Blake, QC, for the coun-

mothers to their infants - may

offer new clues on how to prevent

cot death, writes Chris Mihill.

The Foundation for the Study

of Infant Deaths plans to spend,

£200,000 researching bables,

not just cot death babies, to estab-

lish what is normal child health,

what goes wrong in cot death. Peter Fleming, head of the foundation's infant health unit at

Bristol, said cot death appeared

to be an abnormal response to

everyday stresses encountered

thereby helping to understand

cil, said there were 267 cases las year of people who were recognised as refugees only when their appeals were heard. They would be among those no longer eligible to claim housing benefit, income support or other welfare benefits.

He said the measures could lead destitute immigrant families peing driven on to the streets - or 'improperly forced" to return to countries where they feared persecution. The regulations were an unawful means to dissuade asylum seekers from pursuing appeals.

The Refugee Council believes the decision to withdraw benefits from 70 per cent of asylum seekers to save £200 million a year will have a hidden side-effect in further curtailing their rights to claim refugee status. Asylum-scekers can make a claim only if they have a fixed address.

 Paul Seils of the Scottish Refugee Council last week demanded that the Home Office reassess its view of Nigeria's military regime after an immigration tribunal in Glasgow allowed two appeals by asylum seekers against deportation in defiance of government advice.

Clues to cause of cot death DIFFERENT parenting styles ... | by bables, which most coped with. There were wide differences ncluding the constant

between cultural and social groups in rates of cot death, and f protective factors could be understood then far clearer advice could be given to parents.

, There were difficulties in interpreting cultural differences, but Bangladeshi mothers in the UK kept their babies with them virtually 24 hours a day, with significantly lower rates of cot death.

However, studies in New Zealand among the Maori community, who appeared to have similar practices, showed very much higher rates.

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### 10 COMMENT

## China's salvoes across the water

HE CHINESE army's special show of military callisthenics last week, across the border from Hong Kong, was designed to soothe public opinion. Lunging with bayonets and employing flamethrowers may seem an old way to reassure Hong Kongers that life will be entirely peaceful after June 30, 1997. But for Beijing to refrain from deploying troops in Hong Kong - a territory under colonial rule for a century and a half - would have been an amazing act of self-denial. China in its present mood is certainly not going to miss the chance to invest the handover with all the patriotic symbolism which it will bear - a mood illustrated by its commitment to nuclear testing.

Can the heightened tension in the Taiwan Strait also be seen as merely a symbolic reiteration of Chinese sovereignty, or is the Beijing leadership being nudged by an assertive army into a more worrying posture? The speech by the prime minister, Li Peng, repeating the threat that an overt move towards Taiwanese independence could prompt a military attack, said nothing new. Since 1950 China has refused to renounce the right to use force "in the last analysis" - as Mr Li put it. Equally, since 1950 China has never shown any serious intention of wishing to invade. But the situation has not stood still.

In Taiwan the ruling Knomintang has managed to retain power only by giving ground to the independence lobby while as time goes on the de facto reality of an independent Taiwan, whatever its notional status, becomes harder to deny. On the mainland, meanwhile, pressure may increase for the problem to be solved once and for all. It was not just rhetoric which led Deng Xiaoping, while announcing his new policy of speeded-up economic reform in 1992, to say that the "reunification of the moth-erland" still remains the top priority. Patriotic assertion has become to an increasing extent a substitute for defunct socialism.

The return of Hong Kong (and soon afterwards Macao) to Beijing moves Taiwan inexorably up the agenda. In one sense this should be good news for Hong Kong: there is even less reason for Beijing to throw its weight around unnecessarily and by doing so to make the Taiwanesc even more nervous. Some reassurance may be found in the growing economic role of the People's Liberation Army. Directly or through family members, its officer corps is now engaged in entrepreneurial activities. But "in the last analysis" this factor is not decisive. The PLA is a formidable force with more offensive muscle than in previous decades: the possibility of miscalculation cannot be ruled out. Taiwan should behave with practical caution. No one is asking the Chinese to renounce anything but it would be in their best interests to tone down the pyrotechnics.

## **Taxing time** for graduates

REE tuition at British universities is coming to an end. Some may rightly say it ended some years ago. More than three years ago the Government's education inspectors reported arts and design students were having to pay up to £1,000 a year for course material. The average polytechnic in 1990 had a book budget of £23 per pupil - £3 less than the average cost of an academic tome at the time. The cause of such academic cost-cutting is not hard to identify. Britain has moved from an élite to a mass system of higher education within a decade. It is only eight years since the then Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker, set the country a 25-year goal of lifting the proof school-leavers going on to college from 14 to 30 per cent. That proportion was achieved within six years - and would have been even higher today but for the freeze on places imposed by ministers. Just as rewarding has been the steep rise in mature students. Stx out of 10 of today's 18-year-olds can expect to enter university or college sooner or later in their lives. There is much to celebrate about this expansion - more equal opportunity, better access to economic ladders, wider opportunities for personal development - and one issue to lament: no political party has explained how this will be financed.

Tory ministers have ducked behind the vicechancellors. Various finance schemes were examined to plug the widening gap between the subsidies which universities receive and the cost of providing tuition. Top-up fees were looked at by some institu-tions. The vice-chancellors' club devised a full cost fees scheme with income-related scholarships to protect the poor but then pulped the paper before it was published. Now they are examining £300 regis-tration fees for new students, but have stepped back from taking a decision. rom taking a decision.

Until now universities have concentrated on squeezing costs. By 1990 the old polytechnics and some universities were receiving about one third less per pupil than a decade earlier. Since then, the squeeze has continued. Total subsidies have risen by almost 25 per cent but because of the in-crease in student numbers, the subsidy per pupil has fallen by a further 25 per cent. Any further squeeze will seriously erode standards.

The need is to maintain pressure on all three main political parties. Labour talked two years ago about tuition contributions from better-off students but postponed its paper in the hope min-isters would have to move first. Lib-Dems have been equally timid but announced they would be publishing plans later this month backing long-term tuition loans with repayments through income tax or national insurance contributions. Governments of both the left (Sweden) and the right (Germany) have adopted such schemes. An even more popular model, backed by the vicechancellors, is the Australian graduate tax. Even the National Union of Students initially supported this idea. Further procrastination is unacceptable. Student numbers have been rising at the equivalent rate of three new universities a year. This is beyond belt-tightening: it needs bucks. A graduate tax looks the best option: cheaper to administer, less likely to deter, raises more revenue than loans. In short, the fairest way of repaying the benefits of university life,

## The maiming of Sri Lanka

C ARNAGE in the streets of the Sri Lankan capi-tal, Colombo, where more than 80 people were killed and about 1,300 injured last week by suspected Tamil suicide bombers, is a terrible reminder of the human cost of civil war - and of the limits of force in solving chronic ethnic conflicts. The violence shows no sign of abating. Tamila, making up nearly 18 per cent of the 18 million strong population, want more say in running their own lives with demands ranging from greater pow-ers for provincial councils to full independence in the north and east of the country.

They have always argued that Colombo's language, education and employment policies have been shaped in ways that favour the majority Sinhalese. This is a war with roots deep in the past, but the special tragedy of last week's dreadful explosion, attributed to the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, is that it comes at a time when prospects for a political settlement - the only sort possible - had seemed brighter than before.

President Chandrika Kumaratunga was widely praised when she took the initiative a year ago, boldly offering a cessation of hostilities with the LTTE, only to face renewed attacks on military and civilian targets. Her package of devolution proposals, offering substantial autonomy on eight re-gional councils, was rejected both by the Tigers and hardline Sinhalese nationalists. Recently presented to parliament in clear legal form, the proposais are on hold but could represent a major constitutional accommodation for legitimate Tamil concerns - yet without the approval of the Tigers they cannot be implemented.

The government too has followed a dual strategy: Mrs Kumaratunga came under pressure from her ierals, and last October authorised a new offensive that resulted in the capture of the Tigercontrolled Jafina peninsula. But without that key citadel to defend they then became freer to concentrate on what made them notorious - terrorism.

The Tigers have always had ruthlessness on their side: their leader, the messianic Velupillai Prabhakaran, sent "hit squada" to kill the Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, as well as the Sri Lankan president, Ranasinghe Premadasa, and the opposition presidential candidate, Gamini Dissanayake. And as their extremism sets the tone, other Tamils have either fallen silent or become collaborators. This war, with its inevitable atrocities and human rights abuses by both sides, has brutalised Sri Lanka.

## How the world grew to love the Bomb

### Martin Woollacott

 VERY major nation comes to negotiations over nuclear disarmament with its own special history of involvement in the seductive and terrible mystery of these reapons. To say that the result is therefore a charade is not quite true. But it is certainly a drama played out on two levels.

The Geneva talks on banning nuclear tests are presented as a step toward a world free of nuclear weapons, which they may in the end prove to be. What they are in the neantime is an intense bargaining ession between the nuclear powers and the states who already covertly oossess nuclear weapons or have the technology to acquire them quickly. Both groups are split, and neither has any plans to give up their weapons or their capacity, or all the options for improving either. At a third point of the triangle are countries without these weapons but who may have connections of alliance or interest with those who do. What the talks are about is the terms on which nations can live with each other in a world where these devices have lost less of their allure than we had hoped.

Last week in Geneva the Swedes called on China to follow France's example and end testing, and the Australians, South Africans and Japanese also welcomed France's ecision. The Americans, backed by the British and the suddenly virtuous French, are urging agreement on a comprehensive test han treaty by June, so that nations can begin signing up by this September. The Indians, meanwhile, are ambiguous about whether or not they reserve the right to test.

Read between the lines in the speeches. Sweden, while striving to be, in Olof Palme's words, a "moral great power", considered developng its own bomb 20 years ago. France has made the Bomb into the single most important symbol of its determination that it should be able to stand alone and, even now, beeves that its nuclear strength can be traded off against the superior conomic strength of Germany. Australia, now one of the antinuclear leaders, let the British test the country's interior. Britain itself has from the start considered the Bomb to be, as Ernest Bevin said, its ticket to the top table. The South Africans secretly developed a nuclear device, part of their doomed effort to hold off the inevitable through armed might. The Japanese have had the means to bring together warhead and delivery technology, to create an overnight weapon, for yeara.

NOTATORIUM on testing renewed the hopes that a words both groups want the same comprehensive test ban treaty could be achieved, is as attached to the symbolism of nuclear weapons as any country. Gorbachev inherited a situation in which Russia had striven for world power status by building up nuclear armaments. Paradoxi long as their place in it fits in with cally, he maintained that status, for a national interests. This, then, is while, by reducing them. Now, in a going to be a treaty about relative changed atmosphere, different signais are coming out of Russia. nuclear weapons. It is still worth hav-China, twisting and turning at Geneva to retain the opportunity to nuclear have nots from trying to join test into the mid-term future, has the club. Flawed though the treaty

ment of renewed tension over Ta-wan, the days in 1954 and 1958 when they bombarded that island but had to back down when the United States made it clear that a full scale attack might meet with an American nuclear response. Out of those humiliations was born the enhanced Chinese nuclear weapons pro-gramme, one of whose objectives is undoubtedly still to overawe Taiwan and inhibit forceful American reactions. The Chinese see nuclear weapons, in other words, as essential in their long struggle to achieve the regional dominance and the prominence in world affairs they think they deserve.

As for India, it is ironic that the whole test ban concept, now over 4 years old, sprang from an Indian intiative. In 1954, the Nehru government proposed to the nuclear powers what it called a "standarill agreement". Today, the Indian government says it wants a clear timetable for the elimination of mclear weapons by the existing nuclear powers as a condition for India's signature. It does not, of course, believe that there is any likelihood of this. What the Indians really want, it seems likely, is to upgrade their own weapons, either by testing or by getting technical help from the existing nuclear powers, or both. They see such an up grading as vital in deterring China and a Pakistan receiving nuclear weapons assistance from China, It is perfectly possible that the Indians will choose the "test and sign" op tion, while still agitating for techno logy transfers --- in computer simulation, even in warhead designs from the US.

N UCLEAR weapons retain their attraction, whatever the theorists and the moralists say about their uselessness and vi ciousness. Governments believe they need them for rational security reasons; they also cling to them because nuclear weapons undoubtedly constitute a kind of dark magic which politicians and soldiers recog nise and want to possess. They are complicit in a nuclear armed world.

The Indian prime minister, P V Narasimha Rao, said recently that the established nuclear powers want to "hold on to their awesome arsenals, kept trim by sophisticated computer simulation technique while they want all others to look or with empty hands." What he did not add was that the non-establishe nuclear powers, the existing holders of concealed or all-but nuclear weapons technology, have an agenda too. That agenda always in volves upgrading to a point where an advantage has been achieved over a potential enemy, with an expressed readiness then to stop. In other thing --- to reach and maintain a position of nuclear armed advantage.

Countries want to keep their m clear weapons, but at the same time are ready to bargain about creating a hierarchy of nuclear capacity as long as their place in it fits in with position rather than about reducing good reason to recall, at this mo- | will be, is better than the alternative

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### QUARDIAN WEEKLY

## Limping giant beats a slow retreat

The military machine of the Soviet era has collapsed. forcing nationalists to rely on nuclear threats against the West. David Hearst reports from Moscow

NEW concept of national se-Curity is emerging in senior Russian military, political and intelligence circles which would make any enlargement of Nato to the three Baltic states a cause for war.

One senior defence analyst — the author of a draft national security doctrine that could well be put into practice under a new president said: "Accepting the Baltics into Nato would be as provocative to us as the deployment of nuclear missiles on Cuba was to Washington. Accepting Poland and Hungary into Nato means a cold peace, while an enlargenent to include the Baltics is war.

The doctrine being elaborated by the independent and highly influential Institute of Defence Studies in Moscow defines the territory of the former Soviet Union as the zone of "basic Russian national interests" The army's main task would not only be the defence of national territory and the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, but the defence of the rights of 25 million Russians in the "near abroad".

Russia's potential adversaries are defined as the United States and Nato. Their main allies are defined as Ukraine, China and Iran.

Anton Surikov is a research fel low at the institute and an aide to Yuri Maslukov, the former politburo member and a key figure in Russia's military-industrial complex who has re-emerged as chairman of the economic committee in the Duma (parliament).

Mr Surikov said: "The more radical points of this document must be seen as responsive measures if the position of the West develops into the worst scenario for Russia. The Baltic states can play a very good role as bridge between Russia and the West. But it cannot be a zone where Nato infrastructures are to be deployed. "If Nato began its evoution towards a political structure, that would be another thing - but today what we have is the real possibility of Nato military infrastructures moving towards our borders and this is what provokes concern. All the talk of Russian aggressive ness is a bluff. The West really understands that Rossia is technically in no position to invade."



Take a break . . . Russian soldiers take a rest at a military camp near Grozny, the Chechen capital. The conflict has exposed the growing weakness of Moscow's conventional forces PHOTOGRAPH: OLEG NIKISHIN

The growing weakness of Russian conventional forces, graphically il-lustrated by their inability after 14 months to crush just 6,000 separatist lighters in Chechenia, is making the military planners of a nationalist Russia even more reliant upon the country's nuclear deterrent.

Without the satellite states in central and eastern Europe, Russian generals see themselves in a position analogous to western Europe at the height of Soviet military power. Outgunned by the overwhelming might of Nato's conventional forces, Russia would have to rely on nuclear weapons as its main deterrent The concept of national security

elaborated by the institute, extreme though it appears, is not radically at odds with what the army top brass themselves think.

Vladimir Slipchenko, the vice president of the Academy of Military Science, is a retired majorgeneral and an authority on Russian military doctrine and its reform Professor Slipchenko said: "On the territory of potential Nato members, a potential military theatre is being prepared with a network of airports, communications and command systems. We are looking with concern at how Hungarian airports are being used by Nato for the oper-ation in Bosnia."

Since the end of the Soviet Union the Russian army has seen itself as

on the retreat. Its size has gone from more than 4 million men to 1.5 million. Its best equipped and trained units once stationed in Germany, Poland and the Baltics have been withdrawn and, with no place to house them, disbanded.

Many of the second-rate units that were already stationed in Russia remained untouched. They have now become undermanned, underfunded and in no condition to go into service. Many units have 20 per cent fewer officers than they need to operate at battle strength. At the rank of proporshik, the Russian equivalent of sergeant, the degree of undermanning rises to 30 per cent and, in the ranks, some units are operating at 50 per cent below battle strength.

The problem with having thou sands of units operating under strength creates bizarre sights. Senior officers are often seen doing soldiers' jobs: at the controls of a tank, or even operating the lift to the control bunker of an air-defence unit in Moscow.

One of the Russian soldiers killed trying to stop the Chechen commandos escaping from the Dagestani border village of Pervomayskaya was an officer of the rank of colonel. He was leading a unit of only 20 or

so men — doing a lieutenant's job. Reformers do not have a problem with numbers. They argue the ideal

size of a modern, professional Russian army should be about 1 million. There are, in fact, currently about million men under arms: apart from the armed forces, under General Pavel Grachev, rival services compete for resources.

As a result of the refusal by most rmy units to storm the former pariament in October 1993, and now as a result of the quagmire in Chechenia, Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, has grown to rely upon interior ministry (MVD) forces.

N consequence, the MVD "army" has burgeoned to about 300,000 men. There is now talk of it getting its own tanks and heli-

copter gunships. Prof Slipchenko says the chaos caused by rivalry between enforcement ministries goes all the way to the top: "We have a plethora of enforcement structures, but we don't have a united armed forces of the Russian Federation .... The defence ministry can't reorganise itself without a complex of measures by the state which take in all the other enforcement ministries and the mill tary-industrial complex .

The armed forces have just been left to take care of themselves Everyone has forgotten about them. The president had given them nei ther a plan nor money." Not all branches of the armed

forces are embroiled in chaos There are well prepared and equipped land and air-defence units, and well trained and guarded strategic rocket force units. But the underfunding of the army is a fact of life. In 1994 it actually received only 46 per cent of the money allocated to it by parliament, in 1995 only 50 per cent and this year 70 per cent. This means that it has only go money for the first seven months of this year and, after that, could potentially grind to a halt.

Three years ago, Prof Slipchenko saw the opposition first hand when he visited Fort Sill, in Oklahoma. There, he spoke to a US soldier manning a self-propelled gun. "That man had served for 18 years - he was like a professor," he said. "He knew everything about his gun. How can you compare him to a Russian 19-year-old conscript, spending a year and a half in the army? An American soldier earns about \$800 a month. This is more than the salary of Russia's defence minister."

The absence of political leadership is demoralising. Anton Surikov of the defence institute said: "One of the main problems of the army is the fact that their commander-inchief, Yeitsin, considers the armed forces not as a means of defence of the country, but of himself. As he now considers that the army is less loyal to him, a very big part of the budget now goes to the ministry of the interior."

It is calculations such as these, as well as bitter experience of war in the North Caucasus, that is the real motive behind a new military doctrine in which Russia once again faces the fact that it can depend on no one but itself. After a decade of decline, this mood is bound to take, at least ininally, an anti-Western appearance.

Russia's hardening resistance to the expansion of Nato dominated the weekend's military science conference in Munich attended by senior Nato officials, United States and European politicians and military experts, writes Ian Traynon n Munich.

The Russian participant, the leputy defence minister, Andrei Kokoshin, triggered alarm and agressive verbal sparring that recalled cold-war days by circulating a paper denouncing the proposed Nato expansion.

His paper argued that plans to exend the alliance eastwards into Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were aimed at delivering "the inal blow to the cold-war enemy" He said the expansion would increase hostility in Europe and usher in a new era of "dangerous confrontation" between Nato and Russia.

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## Battlefield disaster against Chechens

### James Meek in Moscow

CHORTLY before the first Rus-Sian attack on the Dagestani village of Pervomayskaya — where Chechen separatista holding hostages had dug in - the desperate commander of a platoon of paratroopers ordered to hold a large and vitally important stretch of open him an armoured car. They did.

When the assault began, the gunner tried to test its cannon on the first moving target he saw - a cow. After firing three clips he realised the cannon had not been ranged properly. Before he could decide what to do about it, the Chechens

rocket.

operation where all the odds should have been in Russia's favour but where 200 well-led, motivated guerrillas showed they were not.

It was clear from the beginning of the slege of Pervomayskaya that the federal troops wanted to force a resocountry blocking the rebels' escape lution of the hostage drama. But in route begged an infantry unit to lend the four days before the attack, while the Chechens were digging the deep-trench system and charging (on mains electricity) the walkletalkies that would so confound their enemies, the Russians were tying themselves in knots.

A host of diverse units from all over Russia - with no experience

blew the vehicle up with an anti-tank | of working together --- were rushed by icy winds, without food, clothing, | cessor, the federal security service shelter or adequate means of communicating with each other.

There were police SOBR units (a kind of Swat team) from as many as eight different regions. Their usual job is to arrest groups of armed criminals in big cities. There was the Alpha anti-terrorist unit, trained to rescue groups of hostages from aircraft, buses or buildings. There vere paratroopers and motorised infantry conscripts, trained - if they were trained at all - to fight Nato in a future conflict. There were artillerymen, trained to shell grid positions on maps. There were | with frostblte and pheumonia.

helicopter gunship crews, trained to shoot up villages in Chechenia and Afghanistan. In charge of them all was General

to the scene and deposited in flat, Mikhail Barsukov, a former KGB of-It was an inauspicious start for an open, snow-covered fields, scoured ficer and now in charge of its suc-- a man who had built his career organising bodyguards for VIPs.

Throughout the build-up to the assault, and the subsequent operation - which ended only when the Chechen leader, Salman Raduyev, his fighters and a large number of their captives slipped through the sloppy cordon and escaped - many of the Russian proops were cold, hungry and isolated. Of the 50 members of the

Moscow SOBR unit, four were killed in the fighting, 13 were in-jured and 20 ended up in hospital

Despite the chaos, SOBR units did manage to penetrate deep inside the village, and it remains a mystery why they did not establish a bridgehead - presumably because they had not

expected such losses and were not prepared for hand-to-hand fighting As in the battle for Grozny, the

Chechen capital, the ground troops had little or no control over air and artillery support, which was as much a danger to them as to the enemy

A village filled with dug-in armed fighters and randomly located civilian hostages was an exceptionally difficult tactical objective if federal troops had any intention of saving the captives. Perhaps, the worst mistake the

Russians made was choosing to at tack instead of nego A with drawal. But that wo

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## **AIDS Bill Will Force Soldiers Out of Army**

### **Dana** Priest

ARIE, a staff sergeant who has been in the Army 10 years, figures she has done what has been expected of her, and more. She has worked hard, spent months away from her family on assignments, "given 110 | "Magic" Johnson's return to profespercent" to her job and is in line for an important promotion.

Except now she expects to be forced out of the Army.

That's because last month Congress passed and President Clinton agreed to sign a defense bill that in-cludes a provision to discharge service members with the AIDS virus. regardless of whether they are sick or can still perform their jobs.

Marie, who is 34 and has a daughter in elementary school, was in fected by her late husband before he knew he had the disease.

"I'm widowed from it, I have a child and now I'm going to lose my job," she said in an interview at a friend's home in Northern Virginia. "No one's looking at the work Ive done. No one's looking at the commitment I made ... It feels like the | made on the House floor in Novem- | AIDS virus. They have been allowed United States has turned its back on | ber, when he defended the provision | to continue to work and to reenlist

Marie noted that she was being forced from her profession for having HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. just when many people were ap-plauding basketball star Earvin sional play despite having the virus.

Afraid of being stigmatized, she will not allow her full name to be used in this article. She has not told her daughter or most of her coworkers she is HIV-positive and only informed her mother last month, although she was diagnosed five years ago and informed her Army supervisors. "It's my family I'm concerned about," she said.

The HIV measure in the defense bill was introduced by Rep. Robert K. Dornan (Rep-California), a con-servative presidential aspirant and former combat pilot who has become a lightning rod for anger among AIDS activists and others, including Marie.

Dornan has attracted their criticism for comments such as one he

y saying AIDS "is spread by human God-given free will," and then listing what he described as the three ways service members get AIDS: "Rolling up your white, khaki or blue uniform sleeve and sticking a contaminated ilthy needle in your arm ... heterosexual sex with prostitutes . . . and naving unprotected (homosexual) sex with strangers in some hide away or men's room somewhere."

"I feel outraged" at Dornan, said Marie. "I can't go out into the public ind talk about my disease because the American people don't understand this disease. How can I feel safe if I have a leader on Capitol Hill who says things like this."

"Everything I worked for he's taking away from me, everything know," she said. "I've left my family to go to school, I've left my family to go overseas. I dld it because that was what the military expected of me. If I didn't want to make it my career, I wouldn't have done it."

There are 1,049 male and female service members who have the

as long as they are able to perform their jobs. But the military tests personnel for HIV about every two years, and those with the virus are prohibited from being sent to overseas posts or into combat. Marie went abroad before being infected.

"It sounds like a tragic case," Dornan said of Marie in an interview last week. But, he added, AIDS sufferers put an undue burden on other service members who have to fill in for them overseas. "She can't go to Bosnia. She can't go to Halti. She can't go to Somalia. She can't go anywhere in this world . . . and she obviously had unprotected sex with omeone whose entire background she didn't know . . . She should be a good patriot and take her honorable ischarge."

Defense Department statistics show that half of the 1,049 service members with the AIDS virus are married.

Several high-ranking military offi-cials and military organizations have supported Dornan's provision be-

**Congress Approves Big** 

**Changes to Telecom Laws** 

cause they believe HIV-positive aer vice members are a drain on military readiness. In 1993, Adm. Frank Keise II, then Chief of Naval Operations wrote Dornan to say that retaining HIV-positive service members " poses significant problems for a services, especially the Navy Asignment limitations cause significant dis ruption in the sea/shore rotation for all our personnel."

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Clinton was set to sign the d fense bill early this week. After he does, Marie, who works on person nel issues at the Pentagon, will be discharged within six months. She will retain her medical benefits but will not be entitled to retirement benefits or the kind of substantial disability pay she could have gotten had she remained in the Army until she became too sick to work. She will also lose the health insurance she has for her daughter.

White House officials said the hope to have some alternative to the provision ready when Clinton signs the bill. Among the options under consideration is to have Clinton sign an executive order that would allow service members to retain health insurance for their dependents or to support legislation to repeal the

## Flat Tax and Fed Don't See Eye to Eye

### OPINION **Robert Kuttner**

OOPERS & LYBRAND recently audited Steve Forbes' proposed flat tax. The blue chip accounting firm found that the flat tax would indeed leave the Treasury about \$200 billion a year short, just as critics allege.

The analysis did leave Forbes one improbable out. If the economy grew at 5 percent a year, then there would be no revenue shortfall and everything would be rosy.

Well, yes. And if my grandmother had wheels she would be a bicycle. There is no evidence a flat tax would cause the economy to grow at 5 percent a year. On the contrary, there is an iron consensus that the best the economy can do, whatever the tax system, is its current growth rate --around 2.5 percent. This is the orthodox view, whatever the rates of savings, investment and productivity.

At that rate, workers have little bargaining power. Increases in productivity go to shareholders, not employees. That's why earnings are flat and the stock market is soaring.

At the very center of this consensus is the Federal Reserve Board, in the role of Enforcer. Whenever the economy shows signs of growing faster, the Fed hits the brakes,

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And the problem is not just the Fed, but central bankers as a breed. Even though inflation is ice-cold. the world's major central bankers think the risk of reigniting inflation, however remote, justifies their policies of sluggish growth.

In the past decade, the world has moved in the direction of freer markets and presumably greater economic efficiency. But despite all the deregulation, new technology, globalization, the shift from communism to capitalism, and the open trade, the world economy today is growing at only about half the rate of the post-World War II boom - when everything was more regulated.



Evidently, all these gains to efficiency are impotent to raise growth as long as central bankers keep the economy's potential leashed by keeping money too tight. And that seems to be the real constraint on conomic performance, whether the tax system is flat or round.

The flat-taxers reprise the supply side arguments of the early 1980s: By lowering taxes, especially on investors, we would increase the rewards to capital. That, in turn, would increase rates of savings and

Investment pays for new technology that allows society to enjoy higher standards of living. Hence it isn't so offensive to give the wealth a tax holiday, since "everyone" ultimately benefits. The dubious part of the flat-taxers' claim is that lower taxes are the key to higher investment. But even if the flat-taxers are right about taxes and investment (which is doubtful), the Fed isn't changing its views about how much growth the economy can stand. There have already been momentous structural changes in the economy that allow higher, non-inflationary growth rates — but the Fed

hasn't budged.

hikes on the public. Consumers just shift to imports. Deregulation, likewise, has weakened old monopolies and left industry in a brutal contest to cut costs, not raise prices, Similarly, weaker unions and

higher unemployment leave labor unable to press for wage increases. The old risk of industry passing along wage hikes as price hikes is a dead letter.

The Fed has somehow missed it. but inflation is dead. And if the central bankers are oblivious to all of these epochal changes, a flat tax won't make a difference either.

Besidea, investors are reaping plenty of rewards without additional . The stock market continues to set new records, notwithstanding the tax system. And every time the Fed grudgingly eases up a little, as it did last month, the market sets a new record.

This should tell you what we really need --- not a different tax code, but a different Fed. That would be a much more direct route to higher growth, without widening inequali-ties that are already appalling.

If supply-aiders want to do something useful to unleash economic thing useful to unleash, economic away regulatory barriers that growth, they should drop the flat tax prevent telephone, cable, broadcast For example, globalization makes and join other critics of austerity in a

law a measure that promises to change the way Americans receive telephone, television and computer services. By removing long-standing monopoly protections, the bill would allow people to get longdistance service from their local phone company, for example, or local phone service from their long-

ONGRESS last week over-

whelmingly passed the largest

overhaul of telecommunications

laws in 62 years, clearing the way

for President Clinton to sign into

Mike Mills

distance or cable company. Or they might get it all, with TV and cellular service thrown in, from one company, on one bill. But in some areas it imposes new regulations. It would require

that television makers put a "vchip" in many sets that would allow parents to block out violent programs. More controversially, it would establish criminal penalties for people who make material "indecent" available to deemed minors on-line.

Clinton hailed the bill's final pasage, aaying in a statement that consumers will receive the benefits of lower prices, better quality and greater choices in their telephone and cable services, and they will continue to benefit from a diversity of voices and vlewpoints in radio, television and the print media."

But many consumer groups opose the measure. They say it will deregulate industries that continue to wield monopoly power before competition arrives. Cable rates are likely to rise, they say, as federal rate controls are lifted

This bill is bad for consumers," said Bradley Stillman of the Consumer Pederation of America. For every provision in the bill that encourages competition, there are other provisions that undermine it."

In essence, the bill would sweep For example, globalization makes and join other critics of austerity in a and other communications com-it hard for producers to impose price common project to reform the Fed, panies from entering each other's real competition ever.

markets. It would loosen limits or how many TV and radio stations a single company can own. It also would allow broadcasters to offer new money-making interactive ser vices over their airwaves.

"It's the industry's equivalent the Berlin Wall being broken down," said Robert Mayer, senior manager at the Deloitte and Touche Consulting Group, "We're going to see major industry groups with enormous resources begin to penerate cach others' markets."

Republican and Democratic sponsors also have touted the legis ation as a job creation measure despite recent major layoff an nouncements made by entrenched companies such as AT&T Corpora tion. Trumpeting that theme were the bill's chief sponsors Senator Larry Pressler (Rep-South Dakota) and Representative Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (Rep-Virginin), both of whom repeatedly called the legislation "the greatest jobs bill of the decade.

The legislation breezed through both chambers after Senate Major ity Leader Robert J. Dole (Rep-Kansas), won assurance from Federal Communications Commis sion Chairman Reed E. Hundt that the agency would award no free licenses this year to broadcaster for new digital television service, al lowing Congress to revisit the issue later. Dole had stalled the bill for weeks, complaining about what he called a "giveaway" of lucrative airwaves to the broadcasters.

The Senate passed the measure by a 91-5 vote, less than an hour after the House approved it 414:10 16. Clinton will sign the bill this week, Vice President Gore said.

Under the legislation, the nation's local telephone carriers, dominated by the seven regional Bell companies, must allow all competitors to set up for business and connect to the Bells' traditionally monopolized telephone wires, switches and facily ities. Once that happens, the \$94 billion-a-year local residential telephone market will face its first

### GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1998

## **Ghost Writer Haunts White House**

Washington wants to know who the anonymous author of a best-selling novel is. Marc Fisher reports

"Primary Colors" — the fictional treatment of the 1992 Clinton campaign that has soared atop bestseller lists and stymied political Washington's efforts to livine its creator --- is negotiating for n million-dollar paperback contract and a big-money deal for a second hook, according to an authoritative New York publishing source. The day after President Clinton

challenged reporters to find out who wrote the novel that portrays him with what one aide called "intense ambivalence," a parade of suspected authors and obsessed insiders took to the TV chat shows and kep phone lines buzzing as they traded speculation and reached desperately for the thinnest evidence.

A well-reviewed but - if not for the mystery over its authorship otherwise unremarkable novel has, by dint of its uncanny verisimilitude and a brilliant marketing ploy turned into a publicist's dream Even the president, who called the mystery "the only secret I've seen kept in Washington in three years."

announced he plans to read it. Only the book's agent, Kathy Robbins, knows the authour's name. At Random House the book's editor Daniel Menaker, and publisher Harold Evans are contractually prohibited even from speculating about the writer's identity. Evans swears that he does not know.

The book, which depicts scenes

WENTY-FIVE years ago, Idi

Amin, the notorious former dic-

tator of Uganda, seized power and

began his eight-year reign of terror.

Whatever happened to Idi Amin?

Before I began my private search for the elusive dictator some

months ago, I imagined him living the life of a fugitive, hiding out in

some remote corner of the earth,

fearing extradition or assassination.

I could not have been more wrong.

Amin has always held a fascina-

tion for me. He seemed the very in-

carnation of evil. Some wrote him

off as an arrogant buffoon with a fourth-grade education — all blus-

ter, no blte - but that was before

his January 25, 1971 coup d'etat, be-

fore he turned torture into a state-

sanctioned business and before his

Innumerable stomach-turning stro-

For those too young to remem-

er, Amin had as many as 300,000 of

his people butchered, exiled some

50,000 Asian residents, bankrupted

asting place as the stereotypical

He once proclaimed himself

"Conqueror of the British Empire."

crowned himself the national heavy-

weight boxing champion and rou-

nd created for himself a

cities came to light.

African despot.

Ted Gup

"Primary Colors" — the ciscly that White House officials say the author had to have been present at several events witnessed only by close campaign aides, first came to the publisher's attention last April the publishing source said.

Robbins, a top New York agent, brought about 50,000 words of the book to a breakfast with Evans. From the beginning, the agent insisted on anonymity for her client, saying she would take the book elsewhere if Random House did not agree to a contract with no one listed as author. Menaker edited the book by mail.

The contract was in the \$200,000 range, the source said. Robbins delivered each portion of the novel in a

plain brown envelope. Although the publishers cannot speculate publicly about the author. they are now said to be convinced that the writer is a woman. The novel is narrated by "Henry Burton", a black political operative modeled after Clinton nide George Stephanopoulos.

The book's first printing of 62,000 - a large figure for a Washington novel - sold briskly last month. Random House has shipped 177.000 copies and the book is in its sixth printing. The novel was No. 2 on last week's Wall Street Journal bestseller list and No. 7 on the New York Times fiction list. It is top of the Washington Post best-selling fiction list.

Although the Finger the Author

### parlor game seems centered in mous discussed the novel, but re Washington and New York, the book a selling well across the country.

From Stephanopoulos, who has been calling dozens of friends and acquaintances in a persistent effort to sniff out the identity, to book parties for Anonymous, the curiosity is imost painfully intense.

Carla Cohen, co-owner of Politics and Prose bookstore in Washington, is planning a party on February "We're going to have as many of the people who have been menioned as possible authors read a paragraph from the book," She said. And then we're going to vote."

Random House has been milking the situation. Reporters bumbling after Anonymous were even offered an on-line interview with the author; Time magazine accepted. Anony-

olors, especially as the novel's main character is based on him

buffed all questions deemed "autobiographical.

Early speculation focused on writers on Robbins's client list, including political reporters Michael Kelly and Sidney Blumenthal of the New Yorker, and Joe Klein of Newsweek. They, along with dozens of other campaign journalists, have denied authorship

Inside the White House, fingers pointed at a series of young aides considered to have had good access to the Clintons and a strong sense of story. Political consultant Paul Begala, former deputy treasury sceretary Roger Altman, White House policy adviser Bob Bourstin and Stephanopoulos himself have been accused of being Anonymous. None owns up to the book.

After a wait of several weeks, a contact of mine in Kampala returned to me with a slip of paper on which was penned Amin's home phone number in Jeddah. I called late that evening. A woman an swered. I identified myself as a writer and explained that I was eager to interview Amin.

"You are calling him to speak about what?" she asked. I could hear a young child cooing in the ackground, perhaps one of the 40 Amin is said to have fathered. I said that I wanted to talk to Amin about his life after Uganda. "I'll check to see if he's in," said the woman. In the background I could plainly hear her talking to a man who answered with a thunderous voice.

A moment later the woman r turned, saying Amin was out. "Any

Now what kind of message does ne leave for a despot in exile? How about, "I wanted to ask him if his conscience kept him awake at night." Right. Instead, I said I would call back, which I did, every other night for two weeks. Always it was the same exchange. "He's out. I don't know when he is to return. Do you wish to leave a message?"

Ir with Ir Amin came to an end, the result of sheer exhaustion and a swelling telephone bill, Ordinarily, I'd leave it at that.

But Amin was a man 'of monstrous cruelty and it seems an anomaly of history that he is not wilting in prison or cowering in fear of extradition, but instead is seen pushing a cart down the frozen food aisle or tooling about a seaside city in a Chevy Caprice. For him, there has been no call to judgment. The best that I can do is share with the world his home phone number: +966-2-693-3178. Sic simper tyrannis. | architect and interior designer.

## Japan PM's House Is Not a Home

INTERNATIONAL / The Washington Post 15

Kevin Sullivan in Tokyo

MERICAN presidential can-A didates dream of their first night in the White House, wan dering about in history's footsteps and drinking in the grand view from the bedroom window.

New Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto toured his soon-to-be official residence last month and concluded, "It sure ooks uncomfortable." Japan's version of the White

House, its official prime ministerial residence, is, by all accounts, a dump. Hashimoto s only the ninth of Japan's 24 prime ministers since World War II to agree to live there. One newspaper said that it would be charitable to describe the place as Third World, because even Third World leaders "manage to stay dry when they're home luring the rain."

In addition to the leaky roof, various premiers and their wives over the years have reported sightings of "rats the size of narmots," various strains of lizards and amorous cata screeching all night.

Mutsuko Miki, the widow of former prime ministe. Takeo Miki (1974-76), wrote in he memoirs that rats crawled around her bedroom floor at night and three-inch-long cockroaches "crawled over ou toothbrushes."

"It is not a fit place for humankind to live," Miki once remarked.

The residence, in downtown Tokyo, is a one-story addition connected by a long hallway to the office building where the premier and his staff work. They were both built in 1929, designed by a government architect trying his best to pay homage to Frank Lloyd Wright, who designed the original Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. The Imperial generally received more compliments.

In fairness, the office building does have a couple of lovely rooms where the prime minist can entertain in style.

**President Clinton probably** won't be hanging out much at Hashimoto's place when he comes for a state visit in April. Clinton will probably stay at Tokyo's fancier quarters for offi-cial visitors, the Akasaka Gueat House, one of the world's grand structures, which makes the White House seem like a cottage.

Yasuhiro Nakasone, who was prime minister from 1982 to 1987, so hated his official residence that he drew up grand plans for a replacem would rival the White House in scope and technology.

But Nakasone's plan would have involved moving the headquarters of a couple of Japan's big bureaucracies, and big bureaucracies don't budge easily.

Some people think a modest prime minister's home is approoriste in a nation that prides it-self on humility. "The home of the prime minister is close to the center of Japan's politics, but it doesn't have to be gorgeous at all," said Takashi Sakalzawa, an

In Search of the Elusive Idi Amin render his Ugandan currency before exiting the country.

For that my grandfather was brown in a dungeon. The next day he persuaded a Ugandan magistrate that he meant no disrespect, that he simply wanted to have some souvenirs of his stay in Uganda to share with his grandchildren. His jailing made national news in the United States, and my grandfather lived on to embellish his story of Ugandan imprisonment over his remaining years. Of course, most who entered Amin's prisons told no stories.

In the old days, dictators were held accountable for their crimes. They were shot or hanged and spat upon in the final act - à la Benito Mussolini. That was before the current Age of Impunity, when the likes of Haiti's Baby Doc Duvalier could retire to France, its Raoul Cedras to Panama and the Philippine's Ferdi-nand Marcos could languish in Hawali. Against such a forgiving landscape, who could blame Serbia's Radovan Karadzic if he scoffs at talk of a war-crimes tribunal and dreams of his own Gucci exile?

But what of Amin? Just what did happen to him since fleeing Uganda in 1979? Was he still alive? Was he living in squalor or sinful excess on Uganda's purioned treasury? From Ugandan newspaper reporters in Washington and Kampala I learned that Amin was in Saudi Arabia, where he has occasionally surfaced. He'd been there for years, a pro-

tected guest of the state. His invitation to that country was based in no small measure on Amin's deep Muslim faith and on his pledge to keep a low profile. Several Saudi reporters capital, Kampala: His crime: refus- in Riyadh told me that Amin, now ing a border guard's order to sur | approaching 70, was living the good | that await him there."

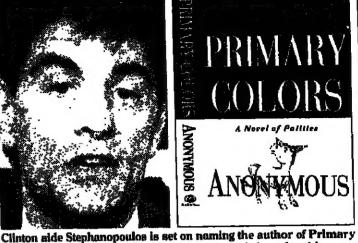
life in Jeddah. My ultimate goal was to talk to Amin and to ask what burdens of exile he carried. It took me a while to confirm

Amin's whereabouts from the State Department, possibly because it does not want to embarrass the Saudis. If that oil-rich nation chooses to extend a hospitable hand to an ex-tyrant in need, the United States is perfectly willing to feign ig-norance. One Saudi official I met olunteered that the matter is sensiive. Amin has generally obliged the King by keeping his mouth shut and avoiding the press, no small feat for a man given to such bombast.

An American lawyer based in Jed dah tells me he often bumped into the 300-pound Amin in the aisles of supermarket. "A number of my riends say they have met him there in the frozen food aisle. They say it was just like meeting Elvis."

NDEED, in Jeddah it seems, Amin sightings are commonplace and the former dictator is accorded near-celebrity status. But to most Americans, he is little more than a footnote to history, a m meglomania amused us at times in spite of ourselves. But to many Ugandans, he remains what he has always been - a threat. There are always rumore in Kampala of him attempting a comeback and of the nightmare play-ing itself out again — the bodies float-ing down the Nile, grieving families paying for the body parts of loved ones that they might give them a decent burial.

Ugandan officials told me that Amin is deeply homesick for his native land, but unwilling to face the inevitable charges and inquirles



## 16 The Washington post / BOOKS Wrestling With Words

### **Jane Howard**

TRYING TO SAVE PIGGY SNEED By John Irving Arcade, 432pp, \$21.95

HE EIGHT exuberant novels John Irving began producing in 1969, like his handsomely ublished new collection Trying To Save Piggy Sneed, abound with evidence of his passions. His work has brought him a degree of prosperity he never foresaw back in his student days at the Iowa Writers' Workshop, when he confided to Kurt Vonnegut, his teacher and mentor, that he "wasn't going to make myself miserable by even imagining that I would make a living from my writing."

"You may be surprised," replied Vonnegut. 'I think capitalism is going to treat you okay." So it has, and in Trying To Save Piggy Sneed, we are told what it's like to be John Irving at 53 - to own, for example, both an apartment in Toronto and a mountaintop property in Vermont where "the damn house has six bathrooms

He'd have us believe he's still the same conscientious, self-doubting recovered dyslexic he was before the phenomenal sales of The World According To Garp. Beginning with that fourth novel, which appeared in 1978, he has become not only a very rich North American, "cautiously admitting to an annual income of at least half a million dollars, but a virtual cult figure in Europe, which he visits frequently with his second wife cum literary agent and their 4year-old son.

His fiction, often set in Vienna or New England or both, is memorably peopled, or one might as accurately say mammaled, with troubled bears, dogs who have names like Sorrow, and humans who typically include vulnerable children, fiercely doting parents, wronged but vallant women, and eccentrics like the bankruptcy of the Christian West,"

book's title memoir, who was be-friended by Irving's noble grandmother but cruelly taunted by the author and his boyhood friends. This book's middle memoir, "The

maginary Girlfriend" contains Irving's most affecting new material, recounting among other things his lifelong devotion, both as a competitor and a coach, to wrestling. "When you love something, you have the capacity to bore everyone about why - it doesn't matter why . . . the best answer to why I love wrestling is that it was the first thing I was any good at." Along with Kirk Douglas and H. Norman Schwarzkopf (but not, Irving points out, his fellow novelist Ken Kesey) he has been selected for the Hall of Outstanding Americans in the National Wrestling Hall of Fame in Stillwater, Oklahoma, More than anything it pleases him that his first two sons both won the New England Class A wrestling title.

The memoirs are followed by six previously published short stories, each followed by an afterword. Of these the most engaging are "Interior Space," which begins "George Ronkers was a young urologist in a university town - a lucrative situation nowadays;" his own fa-vorite "The Pension Grillparzer," written as part of The World Accord ing To Garp when Irving was 34 and already knew I was a novelist, not a short-story writer," and "Almost in Iowa," with its captivating observation, "There is more to Ohio than you think: there are more exits to Sandusky than seem reasonable."

The collection ends with three also republished pieces of "homage," one to Gunther Grass, whom Irving regards as "simply the most powerful and versatile writer alive," and salutes for his outspokenness against the "many-faceted moral smelly garbage collector of this new | and two to Charles Dickens, admired

among many other reasons for his "nearly constant moral outrage." Irving indeed finds Grass "Dickensian - in the sense that he combines darkly comic satire with the most earthly love, the most positively domestic affection." Grass, it turns out, has become a friend, who told lrving "easily more than 10 years ago." that ne was worried because "You don't seem quite as angry as you used to be.' This was a good warning, I've never forgotten it."

All kinds of things can rile this author. On a flight to Paris, he ordered a glass of red wine with his

fish because "I despise white wine." Others may merely dislike effete stuff; he downright despises it. But to be fair, he also justly despises the "notorious anti-Semitism" of Vienna where he first lived as a student. I only he'd tone down his reminders of the prestigious company he sometimes keeps. Barbara Bush meant to ask lrving to dinner, as President Reagan and Dan Quayle both did, "because I was one of her favorite authors." At Irving's second wedding the late Robertson Davies read from the King James Bible; it's a wonder Dickens wasn't somehow there, too, But along with these big names

Irving drops many that most readers won't recognize - those of beloved coaches, and otherwise unsung friends whom he makes us wish we too knew or had known. Nor does he take his good fortune for granted. Fame and money, he has learned, can bring resentment and enemies, who, he quotes Thomas Mann, "are, of course, the necessary concomitant of any robust life, the very proof of its strength." He also notes that "it is frequently the role of lesser wits to demean the accomplishments of writ-ers with more sizable audiences, and reputations, than their own." That would seem to take care of readers, let alone critics, who may feel that Irving novels rely too predictably on the swaggering, the grotesque

"my penchant for the bizarre," as he says reviewers call it — and the randomly violent.

Irving is most helpful when he describes his own formula for his two abiding pursuits: "one-eighth talent and seven-eighths discipline." In both writing and wrestling, the obligatory thing is "repetition without cease . . . until the moves become second nature. I have never thought of myself as a 'born' writer - any more than I think of myself as a 'natural' athlete, or even a good one. What I am is a good rewriter, I never get anything right the first time - 1 just know how to revise, and revise,"

## **Adventures in Time and Space**

### T. H. Watkins

DINOSAUR IN A HAYSTACK **Reflections in Natural History** By Stephen Jay Gould Harmony, 480pp, \$25

#### THE FIRST THING you L should do when reviewing a

collection of Stephen Jay Gould essays is try to explain its title remember Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes or The Panda's Thumb?). Among other good reasons for doing so, the attempt can give the reader some notion of the sometimes convoluted paths that Harvard's Agassiz Professor of Zoology takes as he artfully leads us through tangled ndscapes of scientific, literary and philosophical geography like a pedagogical Natty Bumppo, feet snapping no twigs, swift, birdlike glances darting hither and thither through the intellectual brush to see what new wonders he might show us.

So here we go: For generations after Darwin first articulated it, Gould writes in the 12th essay in this collection; science accepted the theory that evolution took place gradually, the strands and varieties of life riving up or passing into extinction in a kind of ponderous biological waltz

danced over hundreds of milions of years. There seemed to be no evidence to support the idea that new forms of life could appear as startling biological explosions, like those which apparently erupted over a measly 10-million-year period beginning some 543 million years ago, or that some extinctions might be sudden, catastrophic events like that which removed the dinosaurs and half of all marine invertebrate species about 65

million years ago. But the "gradualists," Gould says, based their conclusions on mere samplings from the fossil record, and this, he maintains, provided insufficient evidence. In 1979, when physicist Luis Alvarez and a few colleagues concluded that the great extirpa tion of 65 million years ago was the result of an enormous asteroid colliding with the earth, paleontologists were forced to dig deeper and more thoroughly in an effort either to disprove or validate the theory. And, sure enough, fossil evidence was un earthed to support the idea that omething big and sudden had happened to push the dinosaurs and all those marine species into the black hole of extinction. "The obvious analogy to the

usual cliche suggests itself," Gould writes. "If I search for a single needle in a haystack by sampling ten bandfuls of bay, I have very little chance of locating the object. But if I take apart he stack, straw by straw, I will recover the needle." Or the

From this and other evidence, Gould helped to formulate a new theory of evolutionary process called "punctuated equilibrium," a kind of catastrophism or moderna.

D UT THAT is not the point of D this particular dinosaur essay. No, what Gould is saying here is that Alvarez's asteroid theory and its paleontological results illustrate what Darwin neant when he wrote that "all observation must be for or against some view if it is to be of any service!" This phrase, Gould remarks, "is indelibly impressed on the portal to my psyche."

As that single essay demon-strates, it is a mighty wide portal nd a most interesting psyche that are revealed in this rich and varied collection, compiled from columns first published in Natural History magazine, where Gould has appeared every | future of life's long (punctuated) month for more than 20 years. journey.

He has called himself a simple "tradesman" whose "business" is evolutionary biology, but there are few fields of learning he will not mine, from astronomy to litrature, whether it is to promote the year 2000 - not 2001 - us the first of the next millennium, to analyza why engravers always seemed to draw the whorls in a snail from right to left even hough snails are constructed left to right, or to reject the fulminations of "Creationists" that Darwinian evolution is not "sciantific" because it can't be object tively tested. Nor is he bashful about using less academic materials, from analogies to baseball (a bit of an obsession) to monents from his not entirely serene childhood. "I was viewed mate field of vocational decision - the school playground," he writes in "Dinomania" (my personal favorite among the essays). "I was called 'Fossil Face'," There are scientists who write

with greater grace of language (E. O. Wilson, Gould's colleague at Harvard among them), but few are equal to Gould as a master of the essay form, and none is so polymathically fearless, sublimely curious or quite so fully. entranced with what he has four in the past, present and potential

## European Autopsy

GUARDIAN WEBUY

February 11 100

#### **Bettina Drew**

THE ANATOMY LESSON By John David Morley St. Martin's, 184pp, \$21.95

A N EXPATRIATE living in Muknown to European and American literary connoisseurs as a writer who merits serious attention. Hi 1994 The Feast Of Fuols was the first novel in a language other than German to win the City of Munich Literary Prize, and he has written to wide acclaim on subjects as diverse as imprisonment and modern Japa ese culture.

This new novel concerns the sad cultural fallout of Northern Europe the aimless young people one sees in the cities of Holland and Germany and more recently in Prague, the ones who wear leather jackets, black boots, and carrings through their lips and noses, who sleep in abandoned buildings and do drugs when they feel the need to. But The Anatomy Lesson is no grunge novel Taking its title from Rembrand's famous rendering of a 17th-century autopsy, it is a serious meditation on despair and loss and our inability to really know the people we love.

Kiddo, a young American expatriate in Amsterdam, is a dropout with no prospects, a "welfare brat" who lives off the generosity of the Dutch state. He's a paid-in-full member of Generation X, and in the world as he knows it middle-class fathers rape their daughters, parents physically and morally abuse each other, and young people die quickly from overdoses or something else. In this world, on some days "almost every window we pass seems to be stacked to the ceiling with whips, dildocs and sex mags, [and] you feel beaten up noticing this stuff."

After spending their teenage years apart because the family's divorce left one parent in America while the other went back to Holland, Kiddo and his adored older brother, Morton, a gifted engineer ing student, are reunited when Kiddo is 17. They resume their childbood closeness, bonding 60 tightly that they fall in love with the same girl, Pictje, who sleeps with them both at the same time. Later Morton heads to M.I.T., but once in America he takes off on his own scarcely writing to Kiddo. And when he does return to Amsterdam, it is because doctors have diagnosed him with terminal cancer.

Arranging to donate his body science, Morton requests that Kiddo and the other unsentimental kids at his bedside vigil attend his autopsy. It is a gruesome, harrowing exper ence, in which Morton's insides are revealed to be as aged as those of an old man. Later, Kiddo discovers his cad brother's strange fascili with Rembrandt's painting: "The sta of the anatomy lesson is the corpse. You can't take your eyes off t corpse . . . You want to take the corpse apart and look inside." And as Kiddo begins to mine his past and to try to really understand his brother, he discovers a dark side to Morton, a side so shocking that it throws Kiddo's entire identity 💳 and even his life - Into question.

This penetrating psychological novel conveys a sense of individual apartness so pervasive it is crushing. And yet there are faint whiffs of Freudian familiarity, hope and pur pose. This little book is a gem.



### GUARDIAN WEEKLY

## Le Monde

## Greeks and Turks at loggerheads again

#### Nicole Pope in Istanbul and Didier Kunz in Athens

HE NIGHT of January 30 was an eventful one in the Aegean Sea, when a territorial dispute between Greece and Turkey culminated in a brief intervention by Turkish marines. It was only after swift mediation by President Bill Clinton and his assistant secretary of state, Richard Holbrooke, who led the Bosnia peace negoliations, that the heat was taken out of the situation.

The United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the Nato Secretary General, Javier Solana, had also intervened in an attempt to persuade the two parties to settle the matter amicably.

The temperature suddenly began to rise on January 28, when Athens sent a handful of troops to a tiny uninhabited islet off the Turkish coast. called Imia by Greece and Kardak by Turkey.

There followed two days of sabrerattling by both countries, with spectacular attempts at intimidation in the air above the Aegean and manoeuvres by warships near the islet, which is not much larger than a football pitch. The standoff could easily have deteriorated into an armed clash.

On January 30, the Turkish prime ninister, Tansu Ciller, said that her country would not allow a foreign flag to sully Turkish soil. She also called for a negotiated and peaceful solution to the crisis.

At 1.40am the next morning, a score of Turkish troops boarded dinghies at the tip of the Bodrum peninsula, near the Dodecanese isands, and sailed for the islet. Without a shot being fired, they landed on a tiny rock near Imia.

After Clinton's intervention Greece and Turkey withdrew their

troops and pulled back their warships. A search was going on for the three people who went missing after a Greek helicopter came down in the sea during the pullout, apparently as a result of a technical problem.

Greece says that it acquired Imia und neighbouring islets in 1947 along with the Dodecanese islands, which were ceded to it by Italy. Turkey claims that Kardak and its neighbours were not included in the 1947 agreement, and that since they are situated 38 nautical miles from the Turkish coast and 55 nautical miles from the nearest Greek island under international law they belong

to Turkey. It is difficult to understand how two countries which, despite their historic rivalries, are allies within Nato could have clashed in this way over a handful of uninhabited islets whose only recognised value is as a picnic spot for tourists cruising the Aegean.

The nationalist media in countries are largely responsible for having whipped up the crisis. It began in December last year, when a Turkish boat ran on to the rocks. Probably for financial rather than political reasons, it refused an offer f assistance from a Greek trawler. claiming that the islet was in Turk sh territory

The diplomatic notes exchanged by the two countries would have quickly solved the problem, had not their respective media further inflamed the situation.

Both the Turkish and Greek governments were in a position of weakness --- the new Greek prime ninister, Costas Simitis, due to take up office on January 31, had yet to prove himself, while Ciller was having considerable difficulty in forming a coalition government following December's elections --- and were forced to respond energeti-

Troubled waters . . . A team of Turkish commandos and a Turkish journalist return to Turkey last week after landing on the disputed island of Imia in a midnight operation

cally to "patriotic" pressure from the media.

The territorial waters and status of the Aegean islands have long been a bone of contention between squabble over maritime mining rights almost triggered a war be tween the two countries.

Turkey has refused to sign an agreement which, technically, would give Greece a territorial zone of 12 nautical miles off all its islands in the Aegean. According to the Turks, who insist on maintaining the present limit of six miles, such a solution would turn the Aegean into "a Greek lake"

The Turkish foreign minister. Deniz Baykal, has expressed satisfaction at the solution to the latest crisis. "We only wanted one thing: the withdrawal of soldiers, ships and flags," he said.

The Turkish government has repeated that it would like to have talks with Greece over the status of 1,000 similar islets scattered over the

Aegean whose ownership has not been clearly defined, and to resolve the question of territorial waters.

When Simitis was officially confirmed as Greek prime minister on in his general policy statement, the parliamentary debate was dominated by the dispute over Imia.

Similis was hard pressed by the opposition as well as by members of his own Pasok party. He explained that he had chosen to avoid "a wholesale conflict" with Turkey because it would have not only involved casualties but put the issue of negotiations with Turkey over the status of the Greek islands in the 

"Greek sovereignty is not nego-tiable, and it was in the interests of our country not to fall into the trap laid by the Turks," Simitis said. In an attempt to reassure Greeks, he added that "Imia is and will remain Greek", and that the government "re-

served the right to raise flags when ever it wanted, however it wanted and whenever it wanted. We would have gone to war if necessary."

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But he also used more conciliatory language and reminded parliament that Greece's policies should he guided by good sense and logic. as well as political and tactical ousiderations.

Similis insisted that he had not ne utiated the withdrawal of the Greek ag from Imia with Holbrooke, who s due to lead a 10-day mission to the region in February. He will tace an uphill task. Although Greek and Turkish naval forces have returned to base the root problem has not been solved.

Simitis also warned his European partners of the dangers of admitting Turkey to the European Union. The following day Pauline Green, president of the socialist group in the European Parliament, criticised Turkey for its attempts to redraw frontiers of southeast Europe. (February 1 and 2)



lanuary 31 by a vote of confidence Turkey and Greece. In 1987, a

### South African giant causes disquiet among its neighbours on indifference. But that has not sophisticated financial instruments, outlets and a place where their prevented neighbouring countries a more experienced and dynamic élites can be trained. But they are dreading the imponderables and private sector, and a much larger also afraid that Pretoria may start Jean-Pierre Langellier ESS than two years after Nelson One diplomat believes the SADC South Africa's central bank enjoys

Mandela's victory at the polls, the political landscape in southern Africa has begun to shift. South Africa's status as a regional giant is beginning to worry its neighbours, who suspect that Pretoria may start listening to the siren voices of

Yesterday a foe, now a friend South Africa could paradoxically turn out to be more of a problem than ever to the former "front-line" states, now that premacy has replaced ideological and military hostility.

Politically, South Africa has adopted a low profile. Far from embarking on a human-rights crusade or committing itself spectacularly, as some had hoped or feared, to upport democratic forces in Africa, it has been careful not to be seen to

risks of instability likely to be ushered in by the post-Mandela era.

Economically, the parameters of the relationship are wholly condi-tioned by South Africa's overwhelming industrial, trading and demographic superiority over its regional neighbours. Its gross domestic product is four times larger than the total GDP of its 11 partners in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibla, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The average something in return in South African is 35 times richer than the average Mozambican.

South Africa's economic superiority takes many forms. Its networks in such areas as railways, roads, energy, banking and telecommunications straddle the continent from the Cape of Good Hope to southern

de facto control of the monetary policies of three neighbouring coun-tries, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland. It is an industrialised country dealing with developing countries, mostly selling them manufactured products in exchange for raw mate-

Some of South Africa's neighbours who had supported the African National Congress's strugsomething in return in the postapartheid era.

They expected the country led by Mandela to offer them at least a generous and comprehensive partnership, if not financial aid. They have discovered Instead that South Africa has a short memory and is guided by blatant pragmatism and exclusive concern for its national interests."

may come to resemble, even if only remotely, the old-style Comecon, with a dominant centre and kowtowing satellites. Because it is so biased a favour of a single country, it will never be able to resemble the European Union.

South Africa seems reluctant move any faster towards the goals the SADC has set itself, such as the transformation of the community to a free trade and travel zone.

Because it fears that the lifting of customs barriers will work in favour of its neighbours, which have lower production costs because of cheaper manpower, Pretoria has taken refuge behind protectionist barriers.

Zinbabwe has been the first to suffer from this uncooperative attitude. South Africa has done everything it can to ensure that the with the exception of Mandela's recent call for trade sanctions against the Nigerian junta, the lack of political interest in black Africa shown by him and his government colleagues has sometimes verged zero definition in frastructure, more efficient infrastructure, more definition of the source of remunerative of remunerative of the rules," a Zimbabwean minis-

ter says with some bitterness. "It's becoming a real source of frustration for us."

As a result, the trading boom within the region has worked chiefly in Pretoria's favour, though it is true that South Africa's dynamism has had beneficial effects on its neighbours. Zimbabwe, for example, gets 75 per cent of its tourists and 50 per cent of its investment from South Africa.

There'ls another reason why Pretoria has been holding back: it fears that immigration will get out of control. South Africa has always, even during the darkest days of apartheid rule, acted as a magnet to the poor and the unemployed in neighbouring countries.

According to official figures, has 3-5 million illegal immigrants out of a total population of about 40 million. Mandela has threatened to crack down even harder on people entering the country llegally (now mostly poor Mozambicans).

The unwelcome influx of immigrants will slow down only if South Africa's neighbours take off economically. That is why it is in the interests of the Mandela government to show a little more generosity towards its regional partners. (Januar y 27)

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## **Rebel who broke audience sound barrier**

### **Jacques-Emmanuel**

Fousnaquer reassesses the Franco-American composer Edgard Varèse

N DECEMBER 2, 1954, Hermann Scherchen conducted what turned out to be a legendary first performance of Edgard Varèse's Déserts. It was the first time French radio broadcast a concert in stereo. The radio announcer was 29-year-old Pierre Boulez.

The beginning of the performance passed without incident, but at the point in the composition when the orchestra fell quiet and was replaced by an electro-acoustic tape, all hell broke loose. Within 15 minutes the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées had been turned into a battlefield. Nothing like it had happened since the first performance of lgor Stravinsky's Le Sacre du Printemps 41 years earlier.

The next day, one critic suggested Varese should be "sent to the electric chair". The composer lannis Xenakis remembers Varèse, later, weeping as he listened to a tape of the concert.

Where does Varese's stock stand today? That is something which it will be easier to judge once his complete works have been performed by the Orchestre National de Lyon in a season of Varese concerts the first of its kind --- that will run till June 17.

It is by no means certain that Déserts will seem any less strident today. Thirty years after the com-poser's death, his music refuses to acquire the reassuring patina that so often eventually envelops the most daring of compositions.

His work is "classical" only in the sense that Antonin Artaud's or Lautréamont's writings are classical, probably because he was one of the



completely rethought the very notion of music, with the result that he came to be seen as an eternal rebel and inveterate loner,

After working in musical forms inherited from Claude Debussy and Albert Roussel, whom he admired, Varèse built up an oeuvre where, "as in Picasso's drawings, two incisive lines are enough to enable one to straddle the universe" (Fernand Ouellette on Varèse's composition Hyperprism).

The beauty of Offrandes and the rugged poetry of Ecuatorial do not letract from the radicality of Varèse's musical approach, which had no equivalent at the time. For him, the essence of composition was not the note or the scale, but pure sound --- a sound that had to be organised and amplified, and whose riches and contrasts needed to be exalted.

Varèse devoured books ncoustics and liked to describe himself as a man of science. His conception of music being projected into space apparently came to him when, during a performance of Beethoven's Seventh at the Saile few 20th century composers to have Pleyel, he suddenly thought he could sense a "fourth dimension" Varèse's great tragedy, more than the scandal caused by Déserts, was that he lived at a time when the musical resources he needed were not

yet available. He dreamt in vain of futuristic sound-producing contraptions and electro-acoustic devices. In their absence, he filled his scores with rare instruments and barrages of brass and percussion.

In 1933, he persuaded the engineer Leon Thérémin to invent a new instrument for his Ecuatorial. It was called the thérémin - and soon forgotten. In the thirties and forties (it was only in 1954 that Pierre Schaeffer invited him to come and work at his Club d'Essai in the French radio building), Varèse was reduced to pleading to be allowed to use a corner of one of the few recording studios being built in the United States.

Varèse's career was blighted by his own excessively self-critical attitude, and littered with accidents and abortive projects. In 1961, for instance, four years before his death, he destroyed the most important work of his youth, the symphonic poem Bourgogne, whose first performance in 1910 got au

Strauss.

Other early works, including Oedipus und die Sphinx, au opera based on a libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, were destroyed by fire in Berlin, where he had left them in store before emigrating to New York in 1915. He took out American citizenship in 1927, but a year later returned to Paris.

In 1929, Varese embarked on The One All Alone, a huge circus-cumopera, in collaboration with Alejo Carbly the same project that later ended as Il n'y a Plus de Firmament.

show, according to the photographer Brassai: "Thirteen pianolas. with a few other noise-making instruments, were supposed to perform the sidereal music of this opera. To finish off the work - and the spectators - Varèse wanted to dazzle people's eyes after deafening their cars."

Varèse also dreamt of joining forces with André Malraux to com pose a vast choral symphony. It was to be called Espace. All that remains of the project is Etude pour Espace, a composition first performed i New York in 1947, recorded on 78 and never played again

Varèse was not a composer wh insoired a school of followers. His singularity, combined with the fact that recognition came to him very late in life, meant he did little teaching. The only person who could truly be called his pupil was Andre olivet (1905-74).

After the war Varèse enjoyed a brief but glorious rehabilitation, and in 1950 was invited to teach at the prestigious Darmstadt school, where is students included Luigi Nono.

preparing his Poeme Electronique for the Brussels Universal Exhibi-

## probably the only living composer to have been deeply influenced by him enthusiastic reception from Richard

pentier, Robert Desnos and Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes. It was probaup, after being rewritten by Artaud,

Had it ever seen the light of day, would have been a spectacular

ever, belongs to Chou Wen-Chung, the Chinese American musician - and disciple of Varèse --- who on the composer's death was put in charge of looking after his archives and supervising performances of his works. He also completed Varese's last major composition, Nocturnal.

Later, in 1958, when he was

## **Duets for Saraswati**

### Catherine Bédarida in Delhi

HE Delhi-based classical Indian . singers Rajan and Sajan Misra have been performing together since their childhood, which they spent in Varanasi, a centre of religious, classical and popular song.

They grew up in a family deeply imbued with a 300-year-old musical tradition. At the age of five they started taking lessons from their music-teacher father along with other pupils who, according to an old practice, would come to live in their teacher's house for several months while learning their skills.

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Rajan and Sajan gave their first concert when they were 11 and six: in varaliasi, each temple regularly organised mini-concerts. We often played at them," They now perform in concert halls in India and, less often, abroad.

They have made several records of raga (the most widespread classical form) and songs in honour of Ganesh, the popular elephant-headed god, and Shiva, the god rep-resented by a stone phallus emerging from female sexual or-gans. The two brothers are particuarly devoted to Saraswati, the beautiful goddess of the arts and sciences, who is usually represented carrying a stringed instrument.

The brothers live under the same roof with their families, and they teach their three children how to sing. During the day they also receive pupils, some of whom pay no fee, as is required by tradition.

"A generation ago, local princes would place a large house at the disposal of a talented music teacher," says Rajan. "His pupils used to come and live in it. That way he could then hear them practising all day long and see how they were getting on,"

Duet singing is an ancient tradi-tion in Varanasi, as it is in Pakistan, where it was revived by the Khan brothers in the early sixties. "You need to be very close to be able to harmonise your feelings and sing duets successfully," say the Misras.

Another singer, Wasif Dagar, explains raga as follows: "The performer is not bound by any rules. He can improvise. He then becomes like which he cannot depart. But with those same elements he can compose several different pictures."

Dagar, who gives private lessons in Delhi and sometimes teaches at music workshops in France, says pupils feel soothed by this kind of music. "It's a kind of sound yogs," It's a kind of sound yogs," he says.



Classical Indian repertoire has no written scores. It is passed on orally, which evolution teaching process is so important. When the princely patrons disap-peared, schools took their place and government grants were set up to help pupils from less well-off fama painter, with a palette of colours, the actual notes of the plece, and a canvas, rhythms and forms, from which he cannot depend the plece and a canvas, rhythms and forms, from

In Delhi they are almost all located in the area round Mandi House Chowk. It is there that Birju Maharaj, the Kathak dance teacher invited to the 1995 Avignon Festival,

emarkable woman dancer who was also present at Avignon, teaches the subtleties of odissi, one of the seven classical styles. Her brother Madhup trains male and female singers separately. The top floor is given over to the teaching of three important instruments used in Indian music; the sitar, the tabla and the flute. Pupils pay 100 rupees (\$3) a month for

three lessons of one hour each. "About 60 per cent of them just come along for fun," says Madhup. "They can be anybody from bus drivers to university students . . . ()nly 3 or 4 per cent actually become proessional performers. Because music is omnipresent in Indian films and widely available in recorded form, the 'natural' voice of amateurs - the voice they have before they start learning how to sing

People can hear the great performers thanks to recording companies like Music Today, which was set up in 1990 by the weekly India Today and sells its products either by mail order or through small out-lets such as tobacconists and village bazaars. Cassettes account for 75 per cent of sales, as CD players are not very widespread in India.

Music Today's products are excelleat from the point of view of cassette quality, sound recording and, above all, musical interest. But they do not The Mudgal family's school gives lessons to 1,200 amateura, a quarter of whom are children. Madhavi, the

laxing music, or connositions using synthesisers on top of real instruments. "It's India's New Age," any Anand Prasad, head of Music Today. The number of students at music schools increased appreciably after

"casy listening" - "romantic" or re-

the broadcast of a television series that showed leading performers of classical Indian music in favourable light.

"That was before satellite came in," says Madhup with a smile. "There were then only two TV channels, which meant programmes were watched by millions and millions of viewers. The series glamorised our profession. I have to warn prosper live students that learning music is a long and gruelling process."

But once they prove they can really perform, he passes on the trade tional message: "You should perform first and foremost for your own enjoyment, for it's only when a performer is happy that listeners become receptive to his music."

Rejen and Salan Misra, Théâtre de a Ville, Parls. February 17

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(January 30)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1996

GUARDIAN WEEK

tion, he worked with Xenakia, who is

A lesser-known aspect of Vareseis

his interest in jazz. Few are aware, for

instance, that Charlie Parker, shorty

before his death, sought out Varese

in the hope of taking lessons from

him, or that the jazz flautist Eric Dol

phy performed in his Densite 21.5.

piece originally written by Varèse for

Charlie Mingus and his band, was

given its first European perfor mance by Johnny Reinhard, Its one

page score consists solely of graphs,

and allows the performers consider-

able scope as regards improvisation

The season of concerts in Lyon is

ccompanied by an exhibition called

"Edgard Varese, le Libérateur de

Sons", which is on at the Auditorium

de Lyon until April 5. In Varèse's

case there is no equivalent of the

archives relating to the composer

are centralised. The organisers of

the exhibition had to approach many

different people and request loans

from private collections, in particu-

Now 72. Chon Wen-Chung con-

tinues to be one of the principal

keepers of the Varese flame, partic-

ularly since the death of the com-

poser's widow, Louise, in 1991.

the exhibition are on show for the

first time in France. Along with the

concerts, they enable one to gain a

more accurate and more vivid idea

of the man who, on his death.

prompted the following farewell

from Boulez: "Your time is over, and

(January 31)

it is beginning."

Some of the documents he has lent

OST of the material, how-

lar the Jolivet collection.

Schoenberg foundation, where all

and the choice of instruments.

Last week Graphs And Time, a

February 11 199



Running order . . . Dame Paula is looking for new recruits to a contemplative life PHOTOGRAPH: GED MURRAY

## Seeking sisters with a habit of silence

#### Martin Wroe

T HE NEIGHBOURS do not com-plain. The people in the house next door are very quiet; in fact, they're silent. In the heart of Chester, at 10 Curzon Park South, stands a Benedictine abbey. The accountants and stockbrokers in the neighbourhood probably don't even realise the suburban sisters are there. Only one ventures out ---

once a week to do the shopping. "People on the road think we're a bit strange. I think," says Dame Paula, the abbess, who is not a funlamentalist contemplative and has agreed to talk. "We're enclosed, so we can't go and see them to explain."

There is another reason the abbess doesn't mind talking: Dame Paula has only nine sisters, not really enough to secure even a suburban abbey's future.

It's not as if she needs nuns who can nurse or teach or do social work, nuns whose qualifications she could examine, whose references she could take up. On the surface, Dame Paula's nuns are entirely un-

contemplation --- the ability to be silent and to pray.

The nuns brought their abbey to suburbia seven years ago, after falling numbers and rising costs meant they could no longer afford their spacious premises overlooking the sea off the north Wales coast.

"It was going to cost a fortune to do it up, and with so much poverty in the world we decided we couldn't justify staying there," says Dame Paula. She has been a nun for three decades and abbess since 1989, just after they moved into number 10, formerly owned by a wine merchant's family. The abbey has its own chapel, dining room, bedrooms and even a retreat house.

Once a week, Sister Magdaler sets out for her regular shopping trip -- with strict orders not to spend more than £40. Like everything else in a community of contemplatives, at lunch the whole world has gone quiet, but for the scraping of forks on plates, the

productive. Only two qualifications | blowing of cold noses under wim-are necessary for this life of holy | ples and the distant rumble of sales executives driving past.

With a few exceptions such as the singing of offices, life is conducted silence. By modern terms it is lso unproductive.

"The point of our life? Well, what is the point of anyone's life?" asks Dame Paula. "We feel drawn to seek God. It's too ridiculous to explain what we mean by it, but it's about seeking truth, reality, meaning."

Sister Anne, who has been in the community since 1937, remembers how stupid her parents felt she was being, abandoning her training as a confectioner. "Most of our parents have thought that what we have done is a complete waste of our lives." she says.

At its peak there were 50 Benedictine nuns in the abbey in north Wales. Now there are only 159 in Britain - 50 fewer than five years ago, which is why Dame Paula is talking more than usual. "I would be grateful for a few more novices." she says. "This is too good a community to lose." - The Observer

### FEATURES 19

of the country's European friends.

Another explanation is offered by

sources that suggest any unautho

rised contact with a foreigner could

land a local in a "re-education camp".

The Korean war armistice may

have been signed more than 40 years ago, but its battles, and the

continuing cold war, are the defin-

ing story of the nation's life. At the

Film Production Studios they were

shooting a scene for a new movie

about the war. A young and pretty

revolutionary soldier stood guard at

an intersection, a bus of jolly

singing soldiers drove by, then an

American bomber flew over. The

street was filled with panicking

women, children and old men. The

guard pulled out her machine gun

and, firing from the hip, engaged

the enemy. Somehow I am sure one

shot was enough to bring the evil

ROM THE three-year-olds

saw singing songs in praise of

nursery in Pyongyang, to their

grandparents who survived the war,

this society has known only one

version of history, life and meaning.

Even folk memories of great-grand

parents - there must be a few who

have survived - could only tell of a

worse time, of more than 50 years of

Japanese colonisation and oppres-

There is no alternative story to

explain the past or the present. From

the numerous monuments in Pyong-

yang, all accompanied by metre after

metre of bronze statues of sturdy

peasants and valiant soldiers, to the

television with rapturous crowds

again and again and again greeting

Kim Jong II or praising the virtues of his late father Kim II Sung, it must be

difficult to imagine any kind of alter-

My presence in North Korea -

together with the handful of UN experts and private business people

all ensconced in an uncomfortable

little community at the Koryo Hotel

- indicates that the country is

being forced to open ever so slightly

to the rest of the world. Whether

the society, and its political struc-

tures, will be able to cope with this

contact, and gradually adapt to it, is

one of the central questions of world

native reality.

politics today.

Kim II Jong at the showcase

plane down.

## Letter from North Korea Natalie Bennett Uniform behaviour

T SNOWED this morning in | Soviet Union has taken away the last Pyongyang, and the women who sweep the already pristine streets were out even earlier than usual, and for once with something more than a faint speck of dust to shift with their twig brooms. Peering down from my 23rd floor window, the conformity of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea became even more obvious than usual.

It is seen not in dress --- the men may tend to wear dark suits, but the women and children offer splashes of colour in these grey northern climes - but in behaviour. Even here in the heart of the capital the average rate of traffic flow would not be more than one or two vehicles a minute, but everyone, absolutely everyone, disappears into the grim, dark underpasses at each corner. The tracks in the snow clearly show that no one diverges even slightly from the approved path, although you could cross the street blind folded in perfect safety.

Walking the streets as a foreigner of European appearance I find a similar uniformity in the reaction to my presence. A path clears before me as walk; the street cleaners, broom pauses, the trolley bus queue contracts to make space, the department store window shoppers shrink away from me. It as though I am an invisible force. Not one person catches my eye or acknowledges my presence by so much as a glance.

This morning I smiled at a young girl cradled by an obviously proud grandma, but she refused to acknowledge my overture. I nodded my thanks to the street sweeper but she would not look up. In a total of three hours on the street, having escaped my guide, I succeeded in achieving only one response, from a group of around 40 ten-year-olds who appeared to have been tem-porarily abandoned by their teachers. They giggled hysterically at my greeting, and a few waved furtively as I walked away.

I had expected some curiosity and interest from the locals - after all in midwinter I am one of probably less than 20 European foreigners in a city of 2 million people, but instead the overwhelming feeling was of fear and hostility. That may have been because I could have been a hated American enemy or any enemy, since the collapse of the

## **A Country Diary**

### Stewart MacGlbbon

WAITAKERE, New Zealand: It is the middle of summer and the nikau palms are in the process of flowering and fruiting, a spectacular progression which attracts the local wood pigeons. The bractwhich holds the nikau leaf to the relling at the top of the 0119 SU stem peels back from the cluster of leaves and is eventually dragged off the plant completely by the weight of the frond to reveal a substantial waxy-looking, flower-bearing struc-ture, studded with a multitude of feathery, pale-pink flowers.

It doesn't take long for the flowers to attract a number of bees days. The pollination and fertilisareplaced by the deep-green nubbins | richly contoured canopy of the bush.

of the developing fruits. The warm, humid days rapidly ripen the fruits to a fiery orange-red.

The local wood pigeon (kerers in Maori) is slightly larger than its European counterpart, with a plump snow-white breast, an iridescent green back and wings and red legs and beak. These handsome birds can be heard in flight, producing a swooshing whistle as the air rushe past their flight feathers, silencing as they pull into a stall and then swoop back down to the trees. Alighting on the fruit-laden nikau palms they cling acrobatically at a series of precarlous angles, the better to gorge themselves, pausing every few seconds to resume an upright posture which can then be seen busily work- and review the scene. A feeding ses ing amongst them for the next few | sion may last for 10 minutes or more before there is a soft explosion of tion process is fairly rapid; within sound as the pigeon bursts back into two weeks the flowers have been the air and is rapidly lost in the

....

### Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

## WHAT IS it that makes a song catchy?

THE ANSWER, my friend, is blowing in the wind. - Shehu Dikko, Lagos Nigeria

**RONALD J GRETZ** in Music, Language And Fundamentals, says a good melody is "the right tion of rhythm, meter and pitch". What more needs to be said? - Robin Bajer, Vancouver, Canada

WHAT phenomena might one observe if the Earth were to slow down, come to a dead halt and then reverse the direction of apin on its axia?

tagu, Jerusalem, Israel

THE CIRCULATION of the Earth's atmosphere and the weather systems that form in it are strongly influenced by the Earth's rotation. This constrains the major wind systems, such as the trade winds and the mid-latitude westerlies, to blow largely along latitude circles. As the Earth slowed down, circles. As the Earth slowed down, these winds would become more tion has slowed down significantly sluggish and would adopt a more over geological time. The consenorth-south orientation. The at-mosphere would become much life on Earth are speculated on by Fourth Estate, price 26:99

less efficient at transporting heat from the equator to the poles, so the climates of the tropics and the polar regions would become much more extreme.

I suspect that the resulting climatic chaos would put an end to all human life but, should anyone survive to witness the second half of the experiment, they would see the old atmospheric circulation pat-terns re-establish themselves with one crucial difference - the directions of the major wind systems would be reversed, with the trade winds blowing from the west and easterlies prevailing over Britain and Europe.

Similar changes would take place in the flow of the ocean currents and in motions within the Earth's and what did it contain? ---DIGS would fly. - Simon Mon- | liquid core, The latter are responsible for generating the Earth's magnetic field - as this changed there could be dramatic changes in the amount of cosmic radiation reaching the Earth's surface.

We can get some idea of the changes that might occur on a slowly-rotating Earth by studying the atmosphere of Venus, which takes 243 days to rotate about its

John Barrow in his book The Artful Universe (Oxford, 1995). - Dr John King, Cambridge

WHIPLASH. - Brendan Quinn, Manchester

Any answers?

A TWHAT event did Queen Victoria say: "We are not amused?" — Rosalind Rusbridge,

A TA preliminary hearing of the O J Simpson trial a sealed envelope was handed to the judge. What happened to it R Stables, Rowlands Gill Tyne and Wear · :

AN anyone explain why what U appear to be fleurs-de-lis form part of the Bosnian flag? Mick Connon, Illinois, USA

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardlan.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ, Notes & Queries

## 20 INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS & COLLEGES

## **Brains and bravery** of a boy wonder

At five Alexander Faludy was devouring Tolkien. Now, aged 12, he is taking an arts degree. And all this from a boy with severe dyslexia. Peter Kingston reports

FEW weeks after his birth. the tiny infant who has now - aged .12 - become Britain's youngest arts degree student gave his parents a glimpse of his remarkable intelligence. Long before the books say that babies are supposed to, Alexander was laughing and smiling . By his sixth birthday, Andrew

and Tanya Falucly had no doubt they had an exceptional child. Alexander blew out the candles on his cake and rose to his feet. "Ladies and gentlemen," he began. "We are gathered together today, in this very house, by the grace of God, in prosperity, to celebrate my sixth birthday." Until a year ago, his parents' major problem was to convince schools of their son's remarkable gift, because Alexander's mental powers came at a price. He is severely dyslexic and has very poor physical co-ordination.

For him, conventional infant and primary schooling became increasingly traumatic. As he got older his

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**Wheatley Campus Wheatley** 

and his ineptitude at games at-tracted savage bullying.

The book he has written with his mother, published in Britain last week, recounts her determination to find a viable education for her son, and his pain and frustration.

The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from A Little Edge Of Darkness, subtitled A Boy's Triumph Over Dyslexia, is that teachers may well be aware of the condition, but many in mainstream schooling are not yet equipped or inclined to take it into account.

As a toddler, Alexander's awkwardness with toys and play equip-ment, which was to set him apart from other children at junior school, distressed his parents. Desperate to find something he might enjoy. Tanya one day bought some tapes of children's stories. That evening, Alexander listened to Thomas the Tank Engine and Tanya told of her "gripped amazement as Alexander started to recite - verbatim - for a whole hour the stories he had listened to earlier".

Soon Alexander was devouring Tolkien. "His response to The Hobbit when he was five was very moving and impressive," said Tanya. "Something quite exceptional was going on in his head." Indeed, his oral skill had already clinched Alexander a place at a sought-after pre-prep school near the family and saucer — and his agonising home in Portsmouth. But that was lack of progress with reading and



five years until he passed GCSE | "Class discussions weren't eval-English Literature at the age of nine. Within days of his starting at the school, hints were being dropped, said Tanya, that he might be better off elsewhere.

Throughout pre-prep and the next stage, from 8 to 11, Alexander's clumsiness - his persistent inability to tie shoelaces, or hold a cup difficulties with reading and writing his last official academic success for writing condemned him to misery.

uated as part of work," Alexander said. "The only way I was evaluated was for my writing, but it used to take me a whole lesson just to read what I was meant to be copying down off the board,"

At seven Alexander joined Mensa and his dyslexia was officially diagnosed. Through Fareham College, where Tanya teaches, he was entered for GCSE English literature and at nine achieved the youngest

pass. That same year at school b was ranked 20th out of 22 in day for English. Two years later be passed the A level, having bea granted dispensation to tapercond his answers.

GUARDIAN WEBS Fabruary 11 119

Now Alexander seems to have found a school flexible enough h allow his unique talent to this Milton Abbey school, Doraet, spe cialises in teaching boys with lean ing difficulties.

He is now in the second year of an Open University arts foundation course. His own room is set up with television, video, radio and cassettel player. The OU textbooks be gets on tape from the Royal National Institute for the Blind.

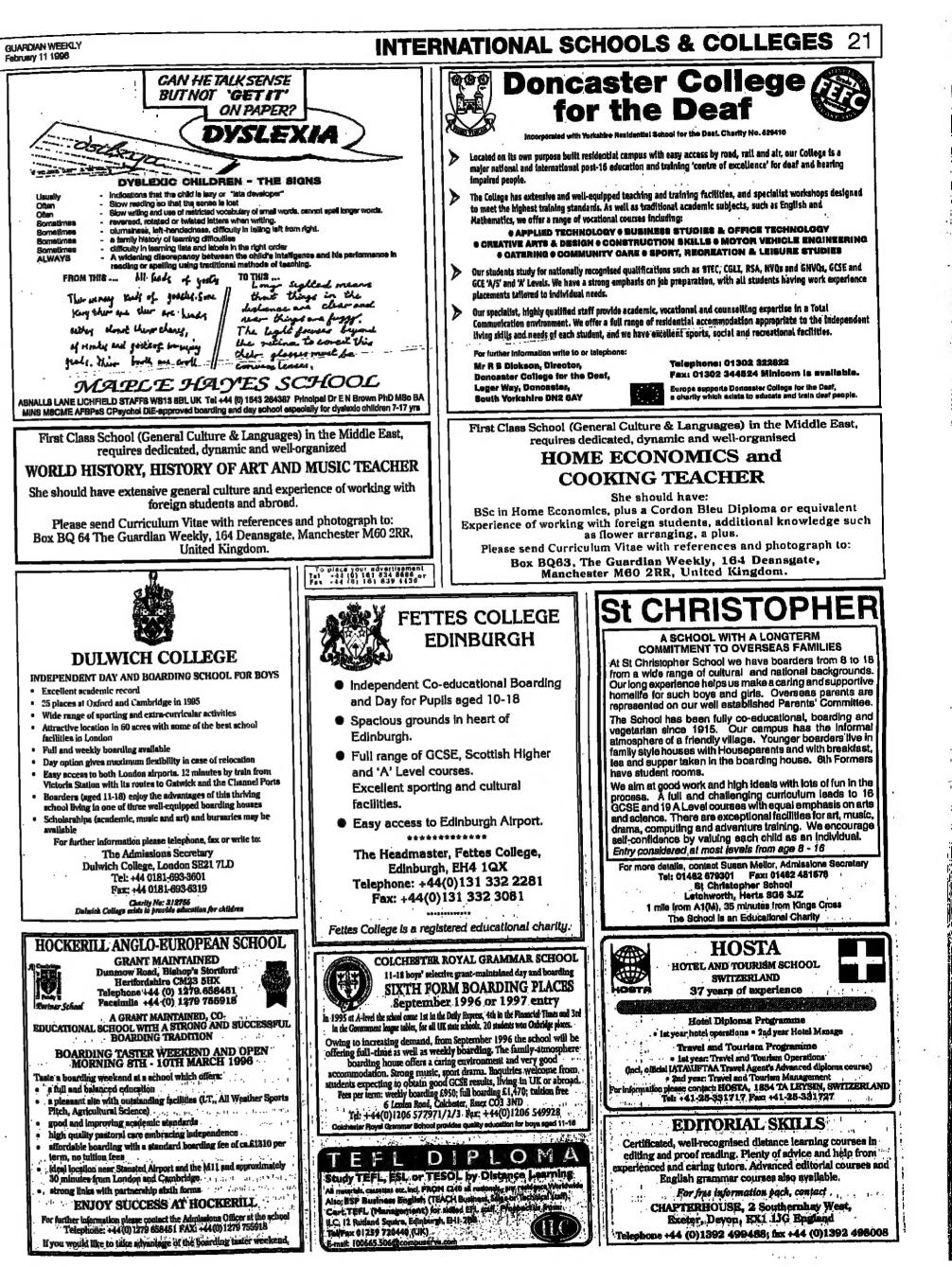
"It's a new and good experience for all of us," said his housemater, Andrew Day. "But it's quite dami-ing to have a 12-year-old who way ders into your study and asks you what you think about Fausius Over the next four years, the school hopes that its methods of rebuilding the confidence of so many dyslear boys will help Alexander. The pla is that he will have graduated by the time he leaves and then go on to university at the usual age to do a second degree.

Tough as his experience ha een, Alexander has been lucky to have parents committed and resourceful enough to see him through to an opportunity which is beyond many dyslexic children. How many, one wonders, are defeated by an education system that s not yet geared up for them.

A Little Edge Of Darkness – A Boy's Triumph Over Dyslexia, by Tanya and Alexander Faludy, is published by Jessica Kingsley, tel: (+44)171-833 2307, price £9.95

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### 22 APPOINTMENTS/COURSES



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Applicants must have good written and spoken English, management skills, experience in PHC and in a less developed country, good interpersonal/diplomatic skills. Knowledge Somali language and culture and experience in conflict areas is desirable

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Applicants must have good written and spoken English, management skills, experience in PHC and in a less developed country, excellent communication and reporting skills.

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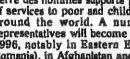
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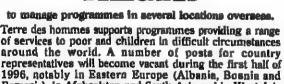
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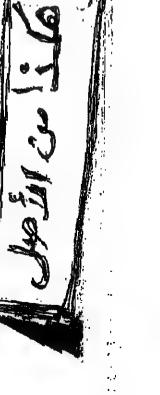
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### MINES ADVISORY GROUP **OVERSEAS VACANCY**

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## **APPOINTMENTS/COURSES** 23



### **Regional Co-ordinator -Development in Rwanda**

The Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund, an international conservation organisation, seeks a project leader to "Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund develop and implement a programme of small-scale development and conservation education projects to help Charity No. 801160 engender a 'conservation culture' in the communities that adjoin the habitat of the endangered mountain gorillas in Rwanda.

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## CLASSIFIED



## 24 OBITUARIES Gotta dance, rain or shine

### Gene Kellv

| . <u>·</u>

in the Broadway Ballet from Singin' In The Rain (1952), he was uttering his personal credo. Kelly, who has died aged 83, danced in his childhood, became a dance instructor, danced on Broadway and danced in 19 Hollywood musicals between 1942 and 1957, establishing himself, with Fred Astaire, as the greatest male dancer in motion picture history.

"If I'm the Marlon Brando of dancing, Fred Astaire's Cary Grant," he once remarked. Comparisons may be odious, but they are often instructive. Astaire's evening wear contrasted with Kelly's T-shirt and jeans and the most celebrated sailor suit in cinema history besides Donald Duck's. Astaire was ethereal, Kelly corporeal; Astaire strutted, Kelly swaggered.

Unlike Astaire, Kelly lacked the selflessness to blend with a female dancing partner, so that his best duets were with other men where a sense of rivalry rather than romance suited his personality better with the Nicholas Brothers in the vigorous Be A Clown number from The Pirate (1948); with Frank Sinatra and Jules Munshin in the exuberant New York, New York from On The Town (1949); with Donald O'Connor in the terrific, tonguetwisting tapper Moses Supposes routine from Singin' In The Rain, and the street dance with Michael Kidd and Dan Dailey with garbagecan lids attached to their feet in It's Always Fair Weather

It is, of course, Kelly's solos that really ignite the screen, with his virile, earthy and inventive dancing combining gymnastics, tap and ballet. Kelly always believed that dancing and sports were inextricably linked.

Among examples of his athletic prowess were his leaps from rooftop to balcony in Anchors Aweigh and The Pirate, his use of metal rings, step-ladders and planks of wood in Living In A Big Way (1947), and his rollerskating through the streets of New York in It's Always Fair Weather, a number which took 12 days to rehearse and four days to shoot

The apotheosis of Gene Kelly danseur extraordinaire - was the liberating title number from Singin'

into the "California dew" under an umbrella. He puts his hand out to HEN Gene Kelly sang Gotta Dance, Gotta Dance in the Broadway Bellat chalter He With feel the rain, shrugs his shoulders shelter. He climbs on to a lamp-post, his arms outstretched "laughing at clouds in the sky". Then he stands under a drainpipe, childishly splashes in the gutter, jumps into puddles and swings round and round holding his umbrella at arm's length as the camera lifts in a breathtaking crane shot. As an example of joie de vivre, it has seldom been equalled.

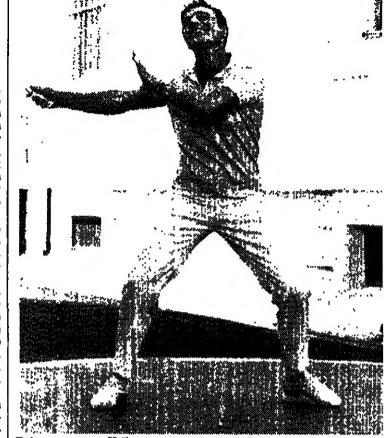
Eugene Curren Kelly was born at the Sacred Heart Parish in Pittsburgh of second generation Irish parents. Like his two brothers and two sisters, he was encouraged to do sports and take dancing lessons. But it was only when he got to Penn State college in 1929, that he began to enjoy dancing in public,

His first great influence was a black dancer called Dancing Dotson, from whom he admitted stealing several steps. After graduating with an economics degree, the 20year-old opened Gene Kelly's Studio of the Dance.

In 1938, leaving his family to run the school, Kelly arrived in New York, where he soon moved from chorus boy to choreographer and leading man. He choreographed shows at Billy Rose's exclusive Diamond Horseshoe club, and the successful Broadway musical Best Foot Forward, as well as appearing as Harry the Hoofer in William Saroyan's sentimental comedy The Time Of Your Life.

**B UT HIS biggest break came** as the "heel hero" of Rogers and Hart's Pal Joey in 1940, a role that defined his cocksure personality. It got him invited to Holly-wood where MGM producer Arthur Freed, the Diaghilev of the movie musical, cast Kelly as the egotistical dancer in For Me And My Gal (1942) opposite Judy Garland. Garland and Kelly were well teamed in a further two films. As Pauline Kael observed, "She joined her odd and undervalued cake-walker's prance to his large-spirited hoofing, and he joined his odd, light, high voice to her sweet, deep one." After the success of For Me And My Gal, Kelly became a major MGM star, a position he enjoyed for 15 years.

Gene and his 19-year-old actress In The Rain. In love, Kelly walks out | wife, Betsy Blair, became part of Hol- | Broadway, and as a chorus girl in



Driven man . . . Kelly was an extreme perfectionist who forced his partners through weeks of painful choreography

ywood society and kept open house on Saturday nights where some of the greatest talents in Hollywood gathered. He and Betsy gained repu-tations as free-thinking liberals, so it was no surprise, a few years later, when they were approached by the House UnAmerican Activities, Gene was exonerated, but Betsy was put on an implicit black list for four years.

Of the seven movies he directed solo, only two were musicals. Invita tion To The Dance (1956), a partially successful attempt to make an alldancing film, contained three ballets, the last featuring Kelly and cartoon characters. There were glimpses of the old-time musical magic in Hello Dollyl (1969), but it suffered from overkill and the miscasting of Barbra Streisand in the title role. His nonnusicals had two left feet.

However, it was as co-director. with Stanley Donen, of the invigorating and trailblazing trilogy - On The Town, Singin' In The Rain and It's Alwaya Fair Weather - that Geve Kelly made his greatest creative contribution.

In 1957, Betsy divorced Kelly after 17 years of marriage. In 1960 Kelly married Jeannie Coyne, once the wife of Stanley Donen. He had known her as a child at the school where he taught dancing, then on

many an MGM musical. They had two children the had a daughter by Betsy Blair) before Jeannie died of leukemia in 1973.

After a skiing accident in the early sixties damaged his knee, Kelly did little dancing, but often appeared in films as a reminder of the great days of the musical. Always much admired in France the choreographed a ballet at the Paris Opera), he was paid homage by French director Jacques Demy who cast him in The Young Girls Of Rochefort (1967), a musical about three sailors on leave. Relatively young in appearance, he cropped up in two youth movies, Viva Knievell (1977) as a drunken bike mechanic, and Xanadu (1980) with Olivia Newton-John where, still smiling broadly, his appearance re-called the days when he was "laughin" at the clouds in the sky".

Like the Little Tramp walking to wards the sunset, Gene Kelly, with arms outstretched, hunging from a amp-post, folded umbrella in one and, and beaming up into the pouring rain, is one of the most abiding

**Ronald Bergan** 

Gene Kelly, actor, dancer, director, ohoreographer; born August 3, 1912: died February 2, 1996

mages in film mythology.

## **Dialectics at the opera**

### **Ruth Berghaus**

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N DECEMBER 1981 after the which is why booing accompanied The Seraglio at the Frankfurt Opera | Richard Strauss's Elektra at the House, and amid a storm of boos | Berlin State Opera in 1967. and catcalls from the audience, a stage hand told me: "Later we will be able to understand what this and a brief internment, that she means. She is 10 years ahead of us." studied dance and choreography at He was talking about Ruth Gret Palucca's school. In 1951 Berghaus who had directed the Mozart opera.

Berghaus, who has died aged 68, remained up to her last production - the premiere of Rolf Liebermann's Freispruch fur Medea last so impressed that she moved to Coming from the Brechtian school, year - ahead of her time, She | Berlin to continue her training, first | she purposely avoided any identifinever accepted the conventional with Wolfgang Langhoff then at l cation with the action on stage. Her

way of opera making, and always took a fresh, often radical look at young choreographer and it is the well-established and the routine, premiere of a new production of her career from her first staging of

> Ruth Berghaus was born in Dresden and it was there, after the war, Palucca sent her pupils to see Bertolt Brecht's Mother Courage, an occasion which provided

Brecht's theatre. There she met Paul Dessau, Brecht's composer, and they married in 1954. Palucca, Brecht and Dessau influenced the thanks to them that in Berghaus's work dance, music and theatre were brought together in a unique unity.

She successfully transferred Brecht's techniques to opera, a task Brecht had thought impossible. And it was from him she learned the erzählerische arrangement - his art of creating a story on stage.

She was often criticised for cold and emotionless productions. However, she countered this by explaining that emotion did not have to be Berghaus's first encounter with the shown but rather experienced by Berliner Ensemble. Berghaus was the audience through her direction.

approach was analytical never payological: She wanted people to think about what they saw, understand connections and relate them to themselves.

The fall of the Berlin wall and the new political situation did not work to Berghaus's advantage. She always regarded herself as a faithful citizen of the German Democratic Republic despite the interference she suffered from the censor. She remained, despite all the personal criticism, a very vulnerable person who hoped for nothing more than that audiences should understand

### **Klaus Bertisch**

her work, '

Ruth Berghaus, choreographer and director, born July 2, 1927; died January 25, 1996

of bridge

Old master

GUARDIAN WER

### Terence Reese

TERENCE REESE, who top. cred over the game of con-tract bridge for six decades, ba died aged 82. He learned bride from his mother when only ak Since his hands were too smallt hold 13 cards, he had to arrang his cards behind a cushion. By the age of 14 he was competing in bridge tournaments.

Recse won a senior classic scholarship to Oxford and be came captain of the university bridge team at the same times Iain Macleod, the future **Chancellor** of the Exchequer,

captained the Cambridge team In the 1930s, Reese and for other leading players of the day — Jock Marx, Macleod, Maura Harrison-Gray and "Skid" Sing, - gathered at a club in Acol Street, Hampsteud. After sever evenings of discussion they ga birth to the Acol bidding system still used today by the great majority of British players.

The tall, balding Terence

Reese became a dominant figa in the British tournament whi He formed a famous partness with Boris Schapiro, winningth Gold Cup eight times and the Master Pairs seven times (bob) record). Reese was a masterial card player but conservativeh the auction; Schapiro was mon flamboyant, choosing bids and plays which were likely to provoke the opponents into error.

They were the anchor pairly he British teams of the day, wh ning the European Cham ships of 1948, 1949, 1954m 1963. In 1955 came the supreme

achievement, winning the work championship in New York h 1961 Reese won the World ParChampionship (where the hands are pre-set by an experi panel), and in 1962 he added the World Pairs Olympiad. H supremo technique, and the consistency of his results, led many to rank him as the work

finest player. Despite his achievements the table, it is as a writer on the game that Reese achieved gree est fame. He was editor of the British Bridge World magazine from 1955-62, and became the world's most prolific bridge writer.

He was bridge correspo or the Observer, the Evening News (later the Evening Standard), and the Lady. By death, he had written some 83. books on bridge, with two most in the pipeline.

What was so remarkable about hese books? Reese combineds ceptional insight into the gam with a mastery of the English guage. His two classics, Reer Play and The Expert Game, with years ahead of their time, exp ing advanced concepts that man players find difficult to grasp today. His style was econe with nover a word wasted, and exhibited a dry, sometimes bic, sense of humour.

#### **David Bird**

John Terence Reese, orldge ma born August 28, 1913; died Janue 29, 1996

#### GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1996

## Suburbia blooms in the Nevada desert

Las Vegas is the fastest arowing city in the US. **Jonathan Freedland** visits it to find out why

**IOWARD HUGHES** is long dead but his influence lives on in Las Vegas. The ghost of the eccentric multi-millionaire is taking it easy these days, not in the countless casinos and hotels he built on the Strip but in a pleasant 'planned community" called - after his grandmother — Summerlin.

It is one of dozens of estates of Mexican-style houses with adobe arches and crenellated terracolta roofs that are popping up all over Las Vegas.

Far away from the neon glitz. Summerlin was once waste land, bought by Hughes in his dying daya. With characteristic foresight the old hermit sensed that Vegas would spread outward. It is now North America's fastest growing city. The expansion is relentless: 7,000 new people arrive each month and 100 new jobs are created every day. Las Vegas issues twice as many resi-dential building permits as its nearest rivals, Atlanta and Phoenix: 37 million worth a day.

It is growing so fast - the population has more than doubled since 1980 to more than 1.1 million - that alone among American cities it has had to change its telephone direclory twice a year, just to keep up.

In the process it has been transformed from a place where Ameri-

cans could go for a naughty weekend to a template for urban America: walled communities, cash-starved services, and a flight from the inner

Summerlin, whose ownership is still contested by the 300 would-be heirs to the vast Hughes estate, is a trim, purpose-built settlement in the desert composed of pseudo-villages with bucolic-sounding names: the Trails, the Crossing, the Pueblo. There is not a casino in sight.

Joined to it is Sun City, "retirement village", whose welcome sign warns visitors that they are "entering a golf-cart permissible community It has a civic centre, shops, a theatre, even a church and a synagogue. The whole settlement has been built behind walls, and is patrolled by pri vate security guards.

Bill Thompson of the University of Nevada calls the phenomenon, which is not confined to Las Vegas. "fortress domesticity".

Together, Summerlin and Sun City explain what is happening to Las Vegas. The prodigious growth of the hotel-casinos - the Strip has nine of the worki's 10 largest hotels - has brought in ten of thousands of workers. They need homes and schools for their children, and the suburbs have had to swell to accomnodate them.

Sun City has been a magnet for pensioners from the cast coast, the "snowbirds" who previously turned Florida into a senior citizens' haven.

But the year-round sunshine i not the only lure. Ten thousand Californian over-65s moved to Las

no-income-tax rule and ultra-cheap

house prices. The influx of aged newcomers in particular has exerted a strain. Without state income taxes, revnue must be raised by so-called bond issues, approved by referendum. But elderly voters keep rejecting requests for money for schools even for police.

"It's a real problem," says the mayor of Las Vegas, Jan Laverty Junes, re-elected with 72 per cent of the vote last year and something of n Democratic rising star.

"They have an attitude," she says of the Vegas senior population.

and they don't want to pay any

Ms Jones is forced to turn to the casinos, which already pay half of Las Vegas's taxes. But she would rather not. She wishes that her city was more than a company town dependent on the gaming industry.

The end of the cold war was a blow: the closure of the nuclear testing site in Nevada deprived the area of physicists and skilled workers. "If we're going to cope with the growth, we need to diversify the economy," she says.

Sega, the video-games group, has

moved from California, but enticing others can be difficult. Citibank relocated its credit-card processing plant to Las Vegas, but not before it had created a fictitious nostal address - the Lakes - lest customers fear their cheques are being gambled away. On top of it all, Las Vegas is in the

desert, with no water of its own. Recently it devised a plan to take enough water from Lake Mead. Colorado, to supply a million new people. But thirsty neighbouring states such as Arizona object, claiming that Las Vegas is wasteful. The city itself thinks it will win the battle. After all, its luck has held so far.

Thai means new businesses

## Americans have their cake and eat it

It is a dream come true, a tasty fat you can eat without | there. Olestra is, wrote one computting on weight. Jonathan Freedland reports

food. Loose stools and abdominal cramping can't be much good for business either. They are not sensations one would want to advertise on the label of a new product. Especially when the item in question could change the way we eat for

Yet this is the price Procter & Gamble will pay for finding the di-eter's Holy Grail: fat-free fat.

Last month, after two and a hall decades of struggle, the US Food and Drug Administration gave P&G a green light to market olestra, the wonder substance which cooks and tastes like fat - but which passes through the body as if it were fatfree. Within months, the company will be selling Americans potato crisps and biscuits that taste like the real thing, but with half the calories | name. If it works, the health of a naand a fraction of the guilt.

The decision has brought delight to those who see olestra as a solution to the eternal conundrum: foods which are bad for you taste the best. But the FDA's move has also drawn fire from nutritionista who say olestra is a "crazy substance" that could cause cancer. heart disease and even blindness in the elderly.

That's in the long term. For now, there are those embarrassing sideeffects including the evocatively-named fecal urgency (defined as the need to go *right now*). Under pres-cerned, the fat simply hasn't been

A NAL leakage and fecal urgency sure, the Feds have demanded that olestra-cooked snacks become the first food item in the US to carry a health warning: "Olestra may cause abdominal cramping and loose stools. Olestra inhibits the absorption of some vitamins and other nutrients." The warning is the culmination of

one of the greatest sagas in the history of US food. Secret laboratories, embattled officials, and scientists with a mission have grappled for more than 25 years to satisfy an American public that wants to have its cake and eat it - to consume what it likes and to stay Hollywood slim. For olestra has struck at the heart of two American obsessions the twin cravings for low weight and

unfettered pleasure. So much is at stake that, even though only a handful have tasted it. olestra is fast becoming a household tion where one in three people are obese could be radically improved. P&G could capture the entire \$15 billion-a-year US market in salty snacks. The company has already invested more than \$200 million in research, and hopes to claw back half of that within a year. Here's how it works: olestra is not

a fat substitute. It is fat, and behaves like it - except in the human body. Through clever chemistry, olestra basses through the gastrointestinal

mentator, "the stealth missile of fat nolecules".

The genius of the invention is that, unlike counterfeit fats, it doesn't degrade or break down when heated. That's what makes olestra a breakthrough: it can be used as a cooking oil in frying, serving up the mouth-watering prospect of fat-free chips and crisps. Under the new licence, P&G will be limited to selling snacks cooked in olestra. Eventually they hope to market the miracle product as an oil, under its commercial name Olean (alogan: "No fat, no compromises") so that people can cook with it themselves. If that happens, the dietary habits of America and beyond might truly be transformed.

S CIENTISTS have laboured on this overnight sensation since 1959. In the best penicillin tradition. biochemists at Procter & Gamble's Miami Valley research campus discovered it by accident. They were achialiv looking for a supplement for premature infants,

What they saw was that once six or eight fatty acids were attached to sugar molecule, enzymes could not do their usual job of cutting them apart. The molecules simply assed through the intestines without being absorbed. Olestra fitted, the bill perfectly.

Better still, olestra had the same texture as real fat, the same "mouth feel". The scientists began to experi ment, putting on their aprons and cooking with clestra. "We tried out

was just a perfect substitute for fat," says Fred Matison, a member of the riginal research team.

But a problem soon surfaced. In its prototype form, olestra was so liquid, it passed right through the body and came out the other end --the dreaded anal leakage. One witness at the FDA urged the Feds to ban it by conjuring up the image of a college athlete discovering his shorts had been stained --- and suffering acute humiliation in the locker-room.

P&G insist they have corrected that trouble by making olestra more viscous. And, they say, olestra hardly invented anal leakage some people suffer the problem when they consume too much fat of any kind.

Even so, there were enough other flaws in clestra to have kept the issue stalled between the Food and Drug Administration and P&G for the better part of a quarter of a century,

"This is the first food additive with negative nutritional value, fumes Michael Jacobson, director for the Center for Science in the rest, a group which pre ously targeted popcorn and pasta in . creamy sauces. "It actually flushes nutrients out of the body."

This is the most serious attack on olestra. It relates to the chemical's knack for picking up "passengera" on its way through the digestive tract, Vitamins A, D, E and K all hitch a ride, with olestra - and pass through the body as if they were never there. Now the manufacturers have added those vitamins to olestra in advance - making it the molecu-

Still, other risks remain. Olestra washes out carotenoids, the nutrients found in green vegetables that are suspected — though not proven - to help safeguard against prostate and king cancer, heart disease and muscular degeneration. the silment which often robs the elderly of their sight. P&G has not been asked to compensate for the carotenoids because no one la yet certain of their purported benefits. "That's a very serious problem." warns Jacobson.

Even the defenders of olestra are hesitant. Bruce Chassy, a food scientist who sat on the federal panel that recommended olestra's approval, fears that consumers, reassured that an olestra-cooked snack s fat-free, will simply eat more of them or "compensate by eating other foods" --- the Diet-Coke-and-adoughnut syndrome. "My own personal preference would be for people to switch to healthier snacks, like fruit and vegetables," he says.

That's probably a vain hope, for Americans seem reluctant to give up the fatty foods which evolution has conditioned us to find delicious. American men will spend \$24.95 on the Slenderising Man Shape Undergarment, which nips, tucks and sucks the flesh in all the right places. They'll buy the Butt Booster or the Man Band, to hold in a beer gut; they'll work out at the gym; they'll suffer liposuction. But eating habits seem as stubborn as a belly they will not shift. This, after all, in the country where voters demand low taxes and more, spending Americans want to have it both ways, and olestra --- the Ronald Realar equivalent of a full car that can't. gan of nutrition - seems about to all kinds of foods, and this material | pick up any extra passengers. | give it to them,

Hotel-casinos create jobs that draw 7,000 people a month to Las Vegas /egas last year, drawn by Nevada's | "They feel they have paid enough |

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Pierrot power . . . Rupert Graves as Baptiste in Les Enfants du Paradis HOTOGRAPH: NOBBY CLAR A filmic paradise lost on stage

### THEATRE **Michael Billington**

INTELLIGENT people some times make grave mistakes. Simon Callow has described how he went to see Adrian Noble to discuss possible projects. When he mentioned staging Les Enfants du Paradis, Noble "jumped up, eyes blazing". Instead of which, you feel Noble should have poured them both a strong cup of black coffee. For the problem with the venture, which thudded on to London's Barbican stage last week, lies as much in the concept as the execution.

Superficially, you can see the idea's attraction. After all the famous 1945 film, written by Jacques Prévert, was described by its director, Marcel Carne, as "a tribute to the theatre". It deals with two celebrated actors, the mime Baptiste Debureau and the romantic Frederick Lemaitre, both in love with Garance. It seethes with backstage work on stage. And it is written in get the action rather than Baptiste's a sculpted poetic prose that at | reaction, which is what makes the | purely pragmatic reasons why Cal- | a transferable commodity?

But, although adapted and directed by Sinton Callow with obvious sincerity, it fiercely resists dramatisation for aesthetic, cultural and pragmatic reasons. As a film, it has a perfect formal integrity which is shattered the moment you dramatise it: in the same way the essence of great fiction is invariably lost in adaptation. More specifically, Carné's film has a visual poetry which simply cannot be translated into any other medium. From myriad examples in a four-and-a-quarter hour evening I will choose two.

One of the great moments world cinema comes when Jean-Louis Barrault's Baptiste, playing a lovelorn Pierrot, glances into the wings and sees Lemaitre and Garance in intimate conversation: the camera lingers on Barrault's face which, in a few seconds, moves from fictitious sadness to authentic agony. It is a purely filmic moment which is rendered vulgarly silly here by a spotlight picking up the life and shows its two heroes at | couple snogging in the wings: we

times achieves a Wildean dimension. | scene cinematically unforgettable. A parallel moment occurs late on when the dandy-criminal Lacenaire - well played by Joseph Fiennes goes to a Turkish baths to murder Garance's aristocratic protector. In the film Lacenaire walks out of frame and the camera stays on the horrified reaction of his accomplice, Avril. But in Callow's production we nevitably see the Count's throat eing cut with a good deal of bloody medical materialism: once again cinematic poetry is turned into umpen theatrical prose.

But there are profound cultural reasons why the attempt to stage Les Enfants du Paradis is doomed. The film was the product of a particular moment in French history, the occupied 1940s, and conceived about another from 1828 to 1840, when Romanticism was a liberating alternative to the nation's moral torpor. Les Enfants can be seen simply as a love story that transcends time. But it has a political dimension that is lost on a London audience in the 1990s

In the end, however, there are

### low's stage version seems inter-minably flat and dull. Robin Don has designed a revolving two-tiered set that tries to cope with the 50-plus is to die for scenes but that, both literally and metaphorically, creaks. What the cinema can achieve with a quick cut here has to be done with a slow revolve. A classic instance occurs when Lemaitre fights a ducl with a travestied author. In the film we move in a second from the actor walking out of a shot to a poster outside his theatrc saying "No perfor-mance". Is he dead or alive? But here the effect is totally dissipated as the stage trundles wearily round. To make matters worse, Simon Corder's lighting is dismal: I could hardly believe it when Garance's face was obscured as she declared her sexual availability to Baptiste. And what of the acting? Helen

McCrory's Garance actually transcends the murky lighting and is one of the two clearly-defined performances of the evening: she is young, mettlesome, sensual and not a little hysterical in her sense of being held captive by the Count de Monteray, Fiennes also gives Lacenaire clarity and sharpness by play-ing him with a Richelicu-beard and sardonic languor.

But James Purefoy as Lemaitre lacks the self-delighting theatricality that should make his sudden discovery of true jealousy overwhelming: even the key Romantic notion that the actor is blood brother to the criminal gets lost. And Rupert Graves is hopelessly miscast as Bap tiste: wan in the love scenes and, in the famous panto minic where Baptiste is driven by despair to purloin a frock coat, his large frame makes nim look like a dangerous mugger. But it is unfair to blame Callow

entirely for a cumbersomely pointless evening. The buck stops with Noble, who should have realised that the qualities that make Les Eufants a great film — its visual poetry, its fluency of action, its historical necessity — are precisely those that militate against its translation to the stage. When will we learn that what gives life to a masterpiece is the perfect fusion of form and content and that great art is not

## This Violetta

GUARDIAN WER

### OPERA Christopher Lambton

THIS IS now the third production of La Traviata tois habit Nuria Espert's elegan design, first seen in 1989. In massive doorn and ornate pelments, weatherbeaten evena the start of the opera, aptly on vey the fading glamour of Violetta's whirlwind existence. These austere sets have lost none of their original appeals their new setting at Glasgow's Theatre Royal.

When the stage furniture is familiar, it is easier to concentrate on the players. And this time Scottish Opera have, atha drawn an ace. Anyone who heard Claire Rutter as the Countess in their most recent Figaro, or as the bubbly Terina in Dvorak's Jacobin, would have been surprised to find her cat as Violetta in Traviata. These m recent performances did noting to suggest that she could blossom and embrace one of Verdi's most domunding rolesa though she had been singligit

all ber life. From the first notes, casual heard above the mêlée of the M l party, to her dying gasp, lik clear that Rutter is the Violettad your dreams. From the honesed sweetness of the lower register to an upper end glinting with steely determination, this is a voice that effortlessly matches the turbulent emotions of Verbi score. A voice of such character supported by aubtle but interacting, is a rare discovery.

There is more very fine slog4 from Paul Charles Clarke as Alfredo, but alongside Rutters charismatic performance his own attempts to confront the alternating tenderness and fur of the bourgeois lover seem rather stilled. Rene Massis, # Germont, is similarly woodes.

#### These performances, metter lously conducted by Richard Armstrong, are the more piquant for the restoration of numerous "traditional cuts". With something as well know as La Traviata, these little surprises are a welcome innovation



Lipstick, little 'uns and loads of lolly

### TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

OOKING around Painted Babies (BBC2) for something to kick that was not actually wearing nappies and mascara, my eye fell on Tim. Tim was the master of ceremonies of the Southern Charm Pageant in Atlanta, Georgia, where five-year-old girls, primped to the teeth (and, in the case of Brooke, actually wearing false teeth) wiggled their way through torch songs. It looked as if Miss World had pupped. Tim, a crooning compere, sere-

naded each one. Brooke's mother said he made the pageant. "Tim's her swaggering stride ... the way just wonderful. He makes the she measures a man with agile stupageant more classy. I tell him sometimes he's just gotta be a movie star. I'm extremely excited when I see Tim I guess that's the word for it."

Brooke had clearly been told to twinkle roguishly at Tim, on the assuniption that he would serenade her with something cute like' Can't Help Falling In Love With You. Instead he sang "Americal Americal God shed His grace on theel" very loudly indeed. Brooke, pre-programmed as a ballistic missile, twin- Asia, but Asia can pull off her kled and ogled according to plan. I clothes just as well as Brooke."

Tim, equally inflexible, gave God Bless The USA plenty of welly.

Painted Babies, produced and directed by Jane Treays, was something of a horror comic. I thought not of Shirley Temple but of Graham Greene writing about Shirley Tem-ple. He judged her peculiarly attrac-tive to middle-aged men and clergymen. "Shirley Temple acts and dances with immense vigour, but her popularity seems to rest on a coquetry quite as mature as Miss Colbert's and an oddly precocious body as voluptuous as Miss Dietrich's. Infancy with her is a disguise, her appeal is more secret and more adult. She is a complete totsy. Watch | sire to do anything for world peace. dio eves, with dimpled depravity."

Only the organiser of the Atlanta pageant warned against any appearance of indecency. None of the parents seemed to notice that these children, doing Hey, Blg Spender! numbers with feathers sprouting from every orlfice, were like bright flies to queer fish.

Asia and Brooke, both five, were slugging it out for the crown. "Brooke has prettier clothes than Asia was rehearing Won't You Come Home, Bill Bailey with sola. "Cry, baby, cry" coached her mother. Brooke was bumping and grinding her way through her number. "Go, go, go! Twiri! Wink at the judge!" said her mother. Perhaps Graham Greene should have tried that when the Lord Chief Justice described his review as a gross outrage.

Compering the beauty contest, Tim sounded oddly familiar. "Asia's hobbies include baby-sitting, shop-ping and swimming." "Brooke has londe hair and blue eyes. Her hobbies include modelling, singing and dancing." Neither expressed a de-

They looked like tiny Ivana Trumps. Each had had a \$300 makeup and Brooke's smile was a credit to cosmetic dentistry. The secret of sincere smile, her mother explained, is to twirl and, when your back is to the audience, yawn. Then twirl back, smiling. "She can proba-bly hold it for about 20 minutes." The talent judge - and let's hear it, olks, for the talent judge - was thrown off the judging panel because she marked too low.

Mothers and grandmothers rebel-yelled their support. They seemed to reflect their child's act, I like old rope, all smilled out.

mouthing each squcak, imitating every sudrk. Or, perhaps, they were not receivers but transmitters, sending out powerful signals, making

these radio-controlled toys dance. The children jerked their chicken bone bodies in a parody of seduction. Randy Foggett, bless her, provided a moment of much need ollity: "As you see, when the skirt's removed we have a pair of shorts also trimmed in bugle beads". At which point the kid fell on her face. Brooke came on, shooting from the hip in her \$1,000 cowgirl costume. "As Brooke removes her jacket, she wears a one-piece mini skirt, which has a halter top trimmed in stars. And, to cover her blonde curls, she wears a black hat triumme gold and silver." Brooke's smile never slipped. Her denture dazzled.

She won \$5,000, which brings her earnings up to \$15,000, a Caribbean cruise, a bedroom suite and a car. I hope she has a good accountant. Asia's mother was pretty noble

about it for a while but that kind of thing is hard to keep up. "If they told me ahe was gonna win. I would not come back. Got a bad taste in my mouth." Brooke's mother said: "Quitters never win."

Brooke's frozen face, reflected in the wing mirror, was actually disturbing. Sullen, her halr ravelled Violetta



## Taking classicism to the cleaners

#### ART James Hall

**NTIL THE 20th century, it** was widely believed that serious sculpture began and ended with the Greeks. This put modern sculptors in an almost impossible bind: the highest form of praise was to say that a modern work was in the antique style, which meant it could be dismissed as derivative. These ambiguities are ummed up in a famous story involving Michelangelo. He passed one of his own works off as an antique, after being told that an antique sculpture would fetch a far

higher price than a Michelangelo. By the late 19th century, there was a strong sense that sculpture ad got itself into a stylistic straitacket. Henry James makes his fictional American sculptor Roderick Hudson complain that there are so few subjects he can treat compared to a namter.

As a neo-classicist, Hudson is un able to depict anything in the least bit ugly. His bloodless patron opines: "Spotiess marble seems to me false to itself when it represents anything ess than Conscious Temperance."

Since then, sculpture has been making up for lost time. From Rodin's Balzac to Picasso's punchdrunk absinthe glass, Conscious Intemperance is the name of the game. With Duchamo's urinal, the classicists met their Waterloo. This compact white cast, as spotless and smooth as Parian marble, hit them where it hurt. The world of ideal forms was not just being pastiched - it was being peed on!

Charles Saatchi's emporium in London may be a vast white cube. but it is a temple that is increasingly dedicated to the Gods of Conscious intemperance. Over the past three years we've had five batches of young Brits, ranging from Hirst to | chocolate, the other as a 600lb cube | a 15-kiloton bomb is a lump of pluto-



Model machine . . . Charles Ray's Firetruck - 46ft of scaled-up toy

Turk: now it's the turn of the young Americans, on show until March 3. The descendants of Roderick Hudson would probably think of themselves as multi-media artists rather than sculptors, yet sticking objects in space is definitely their day job.

Janine Antoni takes classicism to the cleaners, and to the confectioners. Lick And Lather (1993) consists of two self-portrait busts, one made from chocolate, the other from soap. On completion, Antoni licked the former, and lathered the latter. eroding some of her features in the process. They are romantic ruins, pathetic monuments to self-consuming greed and vanity. Their sicklysweet smell suffuses the gallery.

Two equally malodorous sculptures, both entitled Gnaw (1992), are displayed on marble plinths. One started out as a 600lb cube of

of lard. Antoni gnawed away at each block, then moulded the gobbed-out robbits into confectionery boxes. The half-chewed cubes are like incomplete carvings: a woman's work, seems, is never done.

Gregory Green's theme is world destruction. He makes home-made bombs by following the instructions in books borrowed from the library or bought through mail-order; a back room at Saatchi's has been turned into a grungy bomb-maker's lair.

Cult statues were once supposed help people win wars. But Green's cult objects are something else. Nuclear Device #2 is spotlit in the middle of a darkened gallery. It is the Buddha of bombs: a glass sphere, riddled with wires, squate regally on an aluminium tripod.

Green claims that all you need to turn this technological octopus into

nium. Plug it in at the mains, flick a switch and - before you know it -London is ancient history. I don't believe it for a second, but won't argue with big Mr G.

As it happens, the sculptures of Green's next-door neighbour. Charles Long, are in terminal meltdown, Jack And Jill, Mous Me. Friend (1995) is a series of amorphous blue blobs connected by unibilical cords. They are made from touchy-feely rubber and plastic.

This is dumb, but Sean Landers is even dumber. Landers has made a video called Italian High Renais sance and Baroque Sculpture. This is the title of a book by John Pope-Hennessy, a former Director of the V&A. But it doesn't look as though Landers got further than Michelangelo. In the video, the lanky-haired lad stands before us, clad in T-shirt and jeans. He does a strapping striptease

in which he squirms around pastich ing poses from the master. Just in case you didn't get the point --- that Michelangelo's males are homoerotic and narcissistic - Landers grabs his not insubstantial member at regular intervals and gives it a

size-enhancing squeeze. Landers shows that if you reject idealism entirely, and go for no-holes-barred realism, this can be a narrow cul-de-sac too. What Michelangelo made sublime, Landers merely makes ridiculous. His hyperrealistic bronze sculpture, Singerle: Le Sculpteur (1995), underscores this point. It consists of two chimps, who touch each other. The sculptor is lowest of the low - a naked ape who "apes" nature unscrupulously in his art.

Many modern sculptors don't even bother apeing nature — they magpie it, and use found objects instead. Charles Ray does a bit of both. He mostly uses shop-window mannikins, then multiplies them or changes their scale. He was drawn to this type of imagery because he believes it is as stereotyped, in its way, as Greek statuary. His mannikins can be seen in the second part of this show (March 21 - May 12), but for now we have to make do with idolising his Firetruck (1993).

A toy firetruck has been scaled up to the size of a real firetruck all 46.5ft of it. It is made from painted aluminium, fibreglass and plexiglass, and has been parked outside the gallery. Like any blown-up image, it becomes an alarming abstraction. It is an emergency in its own right, and it makes awestruck Lilliputians of us all.

A late 20th century Roderick Hudson could hardly complain that there aren't enough subjects for a sculptor to choose from. If anything, he would complain that there's too much choice, and that today's patrons demand an endless supply of spaceinvading sensations. You've only got to look at Jana Sterbak at the Serpen tine to see the dangers. The variety of form and content is remarkable; but so too is the superficiality.

## Mad about the girl

### CINEMA **Derek Malcolm**

T WOULD be nice to hail Michael Rymer's Angel Baby as the most extraordinary first feature from Australia in years. But the Australian cinema keeps on producing first fea-tures of real note, like Strictly Ball-room, Murlel's Wedding and Bad Boy Bubby. Even so, this stunning portrait of two Melbourne unfortunates, stuck in the time-warp of mental illness but loving each other enough to try to escape, makes Rymer as exceptional a prospect as any of those tyro directors.

The film is the centrepiece of Toohey's Australian Film Season ---he first of what is intended as an annual event opening in London and jecting both a wounded charm an progressing round Britain.

mental illness and of the often careless way the so-called civilised world deals with it, Angel Baby pulls few punches. It manages to marry popular, approachable film-making with an acute sensitivity and a pugacious anger.

It is certainly not an "art film", but it is subtier and more uncompromising than most to the predicament of medical psychosis. John Lynch, who starred in Cal and In The Name Of The Father, is Harry, | lieved to learn that Claude Lelouch's | cultured Jewish family during the |

a schizold loner living with a charitable Melbourne family and attending an open institution to which Jacque line McKenzie's Kate is sent. He falls for her and she for him.

Setting up home together despite the doubts of the family to which Harry is attached, they face a dilemma once Kate gets pregnant. Does she have an abortion, have the baby and stop her drug treatment for the sake of the child, or does she simply have the baby while still on heavy medication?

Legally, it is her choice, no matter what the doctors insist. On this premise, Rymer constructs a kind of fairy-tale that suddenly becomes all too real.

The acting is superb. Lynch has never been better on film, prothe enthusiasm of actually being Both in its honest depiction of able to love and protect someon with astonishing truthfulness. And McKenzie, who starred in Romper Stomper, gives a portrait of the walflike Kate that is both funny and very moving.

Angel Baby received seven Australian Film Institute Awards and would undoubtedly have won more prizes had it gone round the festival drcuit.

I'm not sure whether lovers of Victor Hugo will be disappointed or re-



Jacqueline McKenzle, star of the

Les Misérables isn't a straight adaptation of the classic novel. At 174 ninutes, it seems almost as long as the book, but it's not as powerful.

It is, however, one of this once fêted but since oft-derided French director's better efforts, transporting us to and fro between the Jean Valjean of the novel and the life of Henri Fortin during the present century. Jean-Paul Belmondo plays both Val

jean and Fortin. Fortin is an ex-boxer who meets a

Nazi occupation of Paris and drives them to apparent safety. On the journey, they read him Les Misérables. Fate then blows them all from one desperate situation to

Lelouch orchestrates it all with his usual attractive but rather hollow flair, which has so often suggested to his detractors that he has othing whatsoever to say. But in this case he makes perfectly genuine points about how history hits the little man and how writers (ie, Hugo) can elucidate that fact better.

His cast is pretty good, with Michel Boujenah, Alessandra Mar-tines and Salome Lelouch as the

The film lacks nothing in surface polish or sincerity. It just has no real depth of feeling. Even so, it's Lelouch's best work for years.

Valeri Todorowski's Katia Ismailova is an extremely free adap-tation of Nikolai Leskov's classic 1864 novella. It's not the first adaptation of the story - Shostakovich's opera Lady Macbeth Of Mtensk is taken from the same source - but it is the most different, with Katia (subtly played by Ingeborga Dap-kounaite) brought up to date as the typist, collaborator and daughter-inlaw of a famous novelist, whose love affair with a carpenter working for the family is discovered.

Todorowski's quiet summation of a melodramatic plot, illustrated by Leonid Declatnikov's gentle, rather distinguished music, is set during | deal of wholly original joy.

summer in a dacha outside Moscow and speaks of desperation rather than obsession. It could be mistaken for a Russian version of an American pulp fiction if you didn't know the Leskov original or understand Todorowski's attempt to subvert the usual expectations by pushing the story into an alienated present-day Russia. As a mood plece, though by no means entirely successful, it has some stunning moments. And Dapkounaite is a joy to watch.

I'm not at all surprised that someone has seen fit to revive Bruce Robinson's Withnail and I which, though made as late as 1987, even then seemed redolent of an earlier age. If this comedy of dissipated English manners doesn't inspire nostalgia along with its cult status, nothing will. The real point, though, is that it's extremely funny, as Richard E Grant's Withnail and Paul McGann's "I", two out of work and out-of-sorts actors, progress from their refuse-ridden London flat to the balmy countryside, only to find that Richard Griffiths's Uncle Monty has fitted them up with an even more inhospitabl country retreat.

This was a time when British humour was still under the tutelage of Monty Python, but Robinson's sixties repartee, his carefully observant direction and the cast's obsessively accurate portraits of shabby eccentricity make for a good

### ARTS 27

### **28 BOOKS**

## A double life in fact and fiction

### Malcolm Bradbury

Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life. Vol 1: The World Before The War by Max Saunders Oxford 632pp £35

ITH BRITISH readers Ford Madox Ford is a writer who has never won fair credit. This is mysterious. His American reputation is substantial: he's acknowledged as what he was, a central figure, artistically and influentially, in the modern movement.

The unease still haunting his reputation has several sources. One is that in his day he made himself somewhat disreputable by his sexual affairs ---- which started with the abduction of his first wife, and moved on to a kind of honourable polygamy with Violet Hunt (aka Violent Hunt) and, when that collapsed in acrimony, with Stella Bowen. Largely for this reason, he left London after the first world war and moved to Paris, with something like a new identity, involving a name-change (Hueffer to Ford) brought about not, as sometimes thought, by anti-German sentiment but the problems of acquiring one more Mrs Hueffer.

The second identity was symbolic in other ways. Hueffer was a survivor of artistic environments and movements from the late Pre-Raphaelites onward. He had been an Impressionist with Henry James, Conrad and Stephen Crane, a Post-Impressionist and Imagist with Ezra Pound, a Vorticist of sorts with Wyndham Lewis. He venerated Hardy and Flaubert, Diderot and Turgeney, was music critic and

the best literary magazine in Edwar-dian Britain, The English Review. He loved writers and writing, fiction and fable-making, and made a busy, gossipy fiction of his life. That world blew up into war; he fought, was wounded and suffered amnesia. The old world ended; so did the first modern movement; so did Hueffer.

In Paris in the twenties, the revised Ford took up the modern quest in the collapsed new order, becoming a crypto-American and part of the expatriate experiment, He edited the influential Transatlantic Review, and won the enmity of his assistant Ernest Hemingway, who pilloried him in A Moveable Feast. He also won the admiration of most of the expatriates, not least Ezra Pound, and spent most of the thirties in the US, teaching, among other things, creative writing. Partforgotten at home, he made the mistake of dying in France a few days before new hostilities broke out; so fair reckoning of his achievement was obscured by greater events.

But retrospect (an art in which he excelled) has not been good to him either. Bowen famously described im as "a writer, and nothing but a writer", and he felt the same. That modesty led him to be taken at his word. His theoretical pronouncements and experiments, which have high importance, were found less solemn and binding than those of Eliot, Pound and Joyce. He was an incorrigible and inventive reminiscer, inclined to place himself at dinner tables he never attended, historical moments from which he had been unavoidably absent. Yet

composer, and formidable editor of his reminiscences, in volumes like the best literary magazine in Edwar- Thus To Revisit (1921) and It Was The Nightingale (1933), form an extraordinary record of the unfolding modernist scene from the 1880s on.

Because of the great artistic complexity of his life, and the fact that he knew (and helped) nearly all the modernist writers of three generations, he has been often the subject of biographies. Now comes the first volume of a large scale, sympathetic two-volume enterprise by Max saunders, based on new sources and research, and a different view of the biographical problem.

The change of name in 1919, and Ford's insistence that he was homo duplex, a doubled and often divided consciousness, explains the subtitle of the book. For generations of writers pseudonyms or new names were both literary disguises and symbols of literary self-creation. And 1919 was a period of fundamen tal transition, not just in Ford's life but in European history and the modern arts. Ford's transferring identity was a bridge over historical and cultural crisis, and an expression of a man who saw himself doubled between man and artist. But this poses problems for the biographer. Ford was incorrigibly selffictionalising; he textualised his life. which became the work, which hence presents itself like a great psycho-biography.

Saunders unravels the international artistic culture in which Ford grew up, and the domestic and legal crises, some comically absurd, some near-tragic, in which he embroiled himself. Interweaving biography with analysis and interpretation, he

Ford Madox Ford: a multiplicity of personalities

gives a studious and a strikingly substantial account of Hueffer's life up to the war (he will not actually become Ford until the next volume).

This first volume shows Ford's complicated, argumentative place in Britain's first avant garde, his acts of honour and of self-deception, his enormous literary self-consciousness. It studies the writings as much as the life, and culminates in an extended account of The Good Soldier, which is given a rigorous and colightening reading.

Saunders's biography will be welcomed as a serious and invaluable interpretation which enables us to look at Ford's dual life - on the page and off it - with much greater complexity.

actly a rational modern sacrament might be made to work through language. Typically, he does this by means of that wonderful little gasp gantly studded with gags, should ing-space, marked with a dash, both linking and utterly separating the 1971, also contains the people world of fact from the paradise and bell of the hero's lervid thought.

But a perennial problem with minimalism is that, sooner or later, one is tempted to reach for a resolution. The tension just keeps building until the writer suddenly gives up and chucks all the remaining knops into an all-purpose blender, just to keep the patterning regular and smooth. And for Mosley, and for 1990s artists interested in God and science generally, the big lump-dissolving temptation is chaos theory

Catherine Fox's Angels And Men is set in an unnamed northern university town which is clearly Durham. Mara, the traumatised daughter of an Anglican vicar, has come to write her MA dissertation on women in evangelical cults.

variously dishy trainee priests. All of the impression of having stand them, naturally fance Mars and the impression of having stand them, naturally, fancy Mara. She equally naturally, spends her time developing anorexia, agonising about her family, and studying far too hard. Mara also sees angels, which have a habit of emerging like this: "A dream, said her rational mind, and yet a part of her knew better. A man of God came unto me. and his countenance was like the countenance of an angel of God, very terrible. .. " Oh, for heaven's

Just because we were all of us self-important 22-year-olds once, doesn't mean it does us much good to be reminded of it.

sake.

Nicholas Lezard War of the Worlds: The Aug on Reality, by Mark Slouka (Abacus, £9.99) **O** NE DOES hear an *v*. amount about how cybergs.

Paperbacks

GUARDIANICS February II:

the virtual world, the Interaction munity, or what you will, is a, stoppable revolution offering 61 unlimited scope to play with imaginations and liberate us to our tiresome physicality. Well & Slouka has had enough. Virtulia ity, he says, means reducing our tions, stripping us of our hund and our capacity to interact with outside world. This is every b fearer's dream book, a fullor; sault on the gushing fatuities du new dream-weavers: passing

The Wig My Father Wore, by Anne Enright (Minerva, 18.)

lucid and scary.

MAGIC realism is back for the narrator, who work " the Irish equivalent of Blind De finds an angel - a former suit working his way up the hierardwaiting to give her a hand with It has the scatty intensity typic: the genre; sentences like "Myke hated cameras but he put a min in every room, because they foryou when you walk away," Very done and a convincing sked: Dublin society.

Plays, Volume 1, by Alan Bennett (Faber, £8.99)

CRTY YEARS ON Genore Habers Corpresent Enloys ning 1963 to 1980, "With the wy tion of Habcas Corpus," Box writes in his introduction, "alfplays are too long " Not a pol." when you read them, and E Years On, in particular esta on your bookshelf. Getting On # D voleptic dilemma of a Libow' voudering what school to sed! children to

The Oxford Book of Money edited by Kevin Jackson (Oxford, £8.99)

O NFORD'S idea of publicisor seem, to bury them in a loos strongbox and shoot anyone w comes near them, but do not let deter you from seeking out this # thology. Staggeringly eclectic al endlessly informative: an exhibit ing vapour of resentment and ope

Poplam, by Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett (Pimilco, £10)

er the interesting su ished). The same wry, deadpa cunning yet artless prose stik fewer celebrities, but more interest ing people; from Billy Name, m cracked up, to Lou Reed, who dial

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## Heaven help us

### **Jenny Turner**

Children of Darkness and Light by Nicholas Mosley Secker & Warburg 241pp £15.99 Angels and Men

by Catherine Fox Hamish Hamilton 374pp £16

F ANGELIC visitations did not really happen, human beings would just have to imagine them. Angelus the messenger, bringing glad tidings from God: what an image, what a conduit, what a brilliant way of connecting the limitless possible to the dull and fleshly real.

Modern, technological transformations of the old Christian idea of the angelic are intellectually in at the moment, thanks to the recent publication of a book on the subject by the French philosopher, Michel Serres. But although God may indeed have died a long time ago, the imaginative usefulness of angels has never really gone away.

At the level of plot, Nicholas Mosley's latest novel will sound lil a boring BBC thriller. Heavy-drinking journalist with marital problems is sent to Cumbria to investigate a tribe of feral children who claim to

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be in contact with the Virgin Mary. While doing so, he stumbles upon a red alert at the local nuclear power

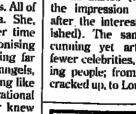
But Mosley is more of a poet than he might at first appear. He has long been a lucid and committed stylist of the minimalist sort. There is

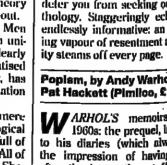
grained sieve of his pared-down grammar, causing them to emergeall near and deceptively simple on the other side. "The boys were cutting slices from a loaf and they put these on the table. No one spoke, I thought - you mean, old God, we are building that tower to heaven?" Mosley, as you can see, likes to focus his attention not on the nothing he likes better than to force | merely sacramental, but on how ex-

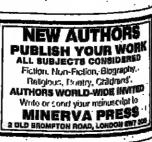
all sorts of confused, over-deter-mined ideas through the small-

- brand-new but already worn-out.

Mara's digs are situated a mere Mara's digs are situated a mere hop away from the local theological college, which turns out to be full of variously dichy trainers out to be full of







Roger van der Weyden's 'St Michael Weighing Souis' (detnil) in Angels: A Modern Myth by Michel Serres (Flammarian, £30)



GUARDIAN WEEKLY bruary 11 1995

## All the Queens' men

### David Horspool

Monarchy & Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I by Susan Doran Routledge 279pp £25 Flizabeth: A Blography of Her Valesty the Queen

by Sarah Bradlord leinemann 320pp £20

**S** *IR THOMAS SMITH*, a young diplomat and courtier of the first Elizabethan age, had some advice on marriage for his seemingly reluctant queen. In his Jialogue of the Queen's Marriage, a character warns that a foreign prince might "bring in the manners and conditions of the country he liketh best" and "frame her Majesty to his bow". The Virgin Queen amously rejected a string of suitors long as Penelope's, from Robert Dudley at home to, among others abroad, Prince Eric of Sweden, Archduke Charles of Austria, the Earl of Arran and even Philip II of Spain. But, as Susan Doran brilntly demonstrates in Monarchy And Matrimony, they all fell by the wayside for far more complicated asons than those encapsulated in smith's xenophobia

Marriage looms large in Sarah Bradford's biography of the present Elizabeth, and there is a revealing quotation from another courtier. ommy Lascelles, at the time of the Princess's own plans to marry Prince Philip of Greece, Lascelles reported hat most courtiers "felt he was rough, ill-mannered, uneducated and would probably not be faithful". Though just under 400 years had passed, little appeared to have changed in the court's opinion of out-



From one to another . . . Elizabeths I and II show the changing face of the monarchy from Tudor to Windsor PHOTOMONTAGE JOHN WORMLEY

at the Queen sometimes ... and she doesn't mind. It's as if she thinks that's how husbands behave."

At the time of Elizabeth's accession to the throne, Philip remarked that the "House of Mountbatten now reigned" - precisely the sort of thing that Elizabeth I's subjects leared any prospective husband might get into his head. Elizabeth II's instant response with her government, which put Philip right about that misconception, might almost lead us to believe that Thomas Smith

who tells us that: "He [Philip] shouts | not for Bradford's confirmation that: "She practically never reads a book unless it is horse related."

Bradford's discussion of the background and state of the Queen's marriage is a prelude to a discussion of her consort's fidelity. In raking up tabloid rumours, of decades past, that Prince Philip was unfaith-ful, Bradford confirms the impression which Doran gives in her book that there are certain persistent themes in royal biography. Not that fidelity was ever a subject to be raised directly in connection with

well as her access to more frightening sanctions than a stiff Palace denial, ensured that. What persists is gossip. Elizabeth I's favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was widely seen as her most likely choice of husband. Doran writes that "rumours of Dudley's intimacy with the Queen not only spread through the English court but were carried by foreign ambassadors to hose abroad". The fact that Dudley was married during the time he was getting intimate only fuelled the rumours, which reacted as if petrol had been poured on them when Dudley's wife Amy fell to her death down a set of "but eight steppes".

Doran engages reluctantly but unflinchingly with the inevitable suggestions that Dudley was somehow nvolved in the death, proposing "if pressed" that Amy was most likely o have committed suicide. Bradford, on the other hand, is content simply to recycle old gossip without editorial comment, giving credence o unsubstantiated stories of Philip's indiscretions without bothering to argue the case. She could hardly be expected to have left the question out, but retiring from a verdict in this way seems disingenuous. Susan Doran's explanation of how

Elizabeth 1 went about not getting married (though she never silenced the gossip) allows the author to demonstrate a sure touch with both the private and the public material at her disposal. Doran is as happy discussing the complex religious politics which lay behind Elizabeth's consideration of the suits of Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist contenders, as she is on the details of Elizabeth's "favourite pastimes of

hunting and riding". Doran mentions Elizabeth I's love of outdoor pursuits, but does not say whether she kept any pets (unless you count Dudley). Our Queen has the corgis, of course, and they siders. Bradford reports "a friend" is on Her Majesty's shelves, were it | Elizabeth I; her failure to marry, as | merit rather drawn-out treatment by

Bradford, who reveals that "Elizaboth feeds them herself at 5pm". Elizabeth I may have had less time for pets, as she had less time for a husband. A famous story has it that she declared herself to be married to her country, and so to have no need of a husband, because she was consumed by the "publick care of governing the kingdom".

Elizabeth II's devotion to public duty has never been questioned, but despite Bradford's attempts to scratch at old wounds, she does have a successful marriage to a real live husband. It is no surprise to learn that her dream is rather less grand, consisting of a retirement to enjoy that marriage on a country estate near Clitheroe.

T IS perhaps in the gulf between these two dreams - one statesmanlike, concerned with posterity, the other a version of any of her subjects' retirement fantasies --that the difficulty in writing a biography of a contemporary queen lies. Sarah Bradiord has written well-received books on historical subjects as disparate as Cesare Borgia and George VI; recent works on the monarchy and the constitution and the monarchy and welfare, by Vernon Bogdanor and Frank Prochaska, have shown how the Queen can be dispassionately observed. But a straight biography of a living public figure who has ot necessity achieved so little (as distinct from the duty she has performed) is likely to consist mainly of gossip and trivia. There is no real sense, other than the commercial, in which such a book could be successful.

The traders with the Baltic states who favoured a match between Eliz abeth I and Eric of Sweden would have explained that there is some consolation in commercial success But, as Susan Doran demonstrates of the Virgin Queen, it need not be an overwhelming motivation.

## Evangelical critic in search of souls

### Francis Spufford

Passion Spent: Essays 1978-1996 George Steiner er 442pp £19.99
Deeps of the Sea and er fiction George Steiner ver 405pp £12,99

DEADING well performed, lecture bien faite, is the act this collection of essays prizes above all others. There's a pudgy bloke on the cover, painted by Chardin in 1734, who has put on a fur hat and robe to turn the huge cream pages of a folio. his rumpled formality was, writes Steiner, a courtesy owed to the text under the classical regime of reading - the preliminary to an interhange of scruple and intelligence that (mourns Steiner) has drowned in the noise of the 20th century. His evocation of the painting's lost world of reading, in the first piece, is seductive because it requires an attenlion at least analogous to the "classical" reader's readiness to annotate; offering in return a sense hat you participate in the strenuous

naking of a reading. Steiner's heroes of reading range from Charles Peguy at the turn of the century back to the great Talmudic and Biblical commentators citation and cross-reference. The religious reverence for text is a prime counterweight in his argument with Stitical theories he sees as threaten - | open; and what they find are the ac- | beautifully animated and articulated. | your affection for literary trends.

Katka); and just as deliberately employed the resources of theology. There's nothing cynical about this. Steiner is an evangelical critic: he wants your soul for meaning.

What there lacks in these readings, though, is any non-textual experience, any social history, any developed relationship between language and power. There's a desultory innocence to those moments when Steiner intends to supply context, as when he complains about music replacing reading since the 18th century and there being no more private libraries, as if he were speaking about changes in the behaviour of the same readership, who've given up codexes for hiphop. The centre of gravity always remains within the text.

This means that Steiner's pic-tures of the involvement of culture with violence always slide towards | ence, to the sometimes purely imcausality. Ideas, words, don't just play a part in history; they make things happen. In Bluebeard's Castle, the book that launched his reputation in the 1960s, doesn't just argue that European romanticism and literary unreason were implicated in the Holocaust: it makes of them the seed from which the Shoah grew. In the same way, here, who enshrined scripture in an ark of | readers who encounter printed horrors are not just glimpsing the spoor of history; they are placed in the sively, that is because their elements ates ensures that the book is a moral cockpit as they sit with a book | are still above all ideas - ideas | delight to read, regardless of

ing meaning. He has deliberately selected canonical subjects for these essays (Homer, Shakespeare, Cocks" and "Two Suppers" compare the deaths of Socrates and Jesus.

The original events, the written accounts, and the later iconography of Golgotha and the hemlock drink all fuse together. Steiner then reads the departure of Judas from the Last Supper as the ejection of "the Jew" into an "utter darkness" which "is already that of the death-ovens". Complex iconic point of origin be comes clinched cause.

Another thing strangely absent i . fiction. It isn't just that Steiner is high-minded, but that his sensibility points away to some extent from the incomplete and asymmetric ambitions of the novel. He likes the narrative impulse in the compacter forms of poem, drama, history, treatise. This is criticism that comes close to preferring the sense in which "a great philosophy is always stylish", commanding a precise verbal presmanent intention of a novel's mass of | for the numerous characters dialogue and description.

So it jangles expectation pleasurably to turn from the essays to a book of collected fiction. Steiner the fictionist knows the odd thing that Steiner the critic does not (especially about dumb motives), but the fictions work in confident parallel with the concerns of the criticism. Indeed some of them are twinned with essays. If they read discur-

## Barminess in Baghdad

### Lucy Atkins

Interesting Facts About the State of Arizona by Jeremy Poolman

Faber 25100 £8.99

**INTERESTING** Facts About The State Of Arizona is a masterpiece of a title for a debut novel which, far from containing interesting facts about this desert state, questions the whole notion of what constitutes fact or, for that matter, fiction.

The story begins with the death of an "ex-Elevator Association employee", the nona genarian Ethan Pieree. Instead of a final heavenly ascension, however, Ethan is resurrected after a day or two as a corpse, his house having been struck by lightning during a freak storm. Left electrically charged (he can start cars with flat batteries), he ecomes a point of connection around whose overlapping lives the novel is structured. The resulting miscellany of viewpoints demonstrates the impossibility of defining one "reality" (fictional or otherwise). In an old but reliable trope, each event means something different depending on

who is interpreting it. The rather desperate barminess of the world Poolman cre-

Centring on the small town of Baghdad, Arizona, the plot is peppered with inscrutables: blind men who can see, indistinguishable twins, televisions which talk back.

The desert itself, far from being hackneyed literary device, acts as a breathing canvas over whose dusty surface the ant-like humans cross and recross in search of escape or reconciliation.

The tenderness of the writing infuses the whole book with a humanity and optimism which may seem at odds with its insistence upon the uncertainties of existence: "There's no situation so bad that it's too bad to get turned around." The book ends where it began, with the death of Ethan. That it is his second death somehow doesn't seem odd, given the infinite potential contained · in this unhinged community.

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**BOOKS** 29

### 30 LEISURE

## A modern cover story

Colin Luckhurst

N THE low light of a misty January morning, on farmland ist below the limestone scarp to the east of Chipping Sodbury, it made a memorable tableau. Two horses, under light control in the post- and rail-fenced schooling paddock, were engaged in the entirely natural acts of equine courtship

foreplay. Martin Boyle, a veterinary surgeon, stood close by in order to seize the moment to interpose an artificial vagina over the erect organ of the sexually aroused stallion and to catch his ejaculate for a quick deep freeze and subsequent distribution to recipient mares in Europe and Australia.

It worked. Grace, the teaser mare, who was thoughtfully provided with felt boots that she might not, with a kick born of ecstasy of frustration, damage the serving stallion, the splendid Catherston Dazzler, stood still.

The stallion mounted her after some preliminary whinnying and his erection was manually redirected into the artificial vagina which, warmed with hot water, catches the semen. The dropping tail and the wrinkling flanks are signs to those in the know that he has made it.

The ejaculate is quickly taken inside to be checked, centrifuged, treated, and frozen in marked straws in liquid sitrogen at minus 196 degrees Celsius, at which temperature it has an indefinite life. I had a look at a sample through the microscope as the semen of Matador, a pony stallion, who already has foals in Australia, was checked. Tiny tadpoles swam vigorously in the field of vision.

I visited the stables of the West Kington Stud at the invitation of Tessa Clarke, the stud manager. She has launched this initiative with the owner, Jane Holderness-Roddam, a successful three-day eventer with victories at Badminton and Burghley behind her. It makes



ILLUSTRATION: GEOFF JONES

available to an international market | out by the Ministry of Agriculture were duly observed. He has a specialist interest in equine artificial insemination and explained how a veterinary input is necessary both at this stage and at the stage when the mare, wherever she may be, is to receive the insemination.

HESE proceedings, on

gloomy January morning. took place under the terms

getting fertilised, made of it all, it is hard to imagine. Perhaps she is flat race classic winners could also be spreading their genetic inheri-

Apparently the technique works

### Bridge Zia Mahmood

Chess Leonard Barden

MATTHEW SADLER, the 21-year-old British champion, has won the £3,000 Leigh Grand Prix for the best overall 1995 results in UK congresses. His rival, Midlands GM Keith Arkell, made it a close race and took the lead with a week to go, before Sadler went ahead in the final Leigh event at Islington.

and the Junior Prix for under-21s went to the rising stars Harriet Hunt and Jonathan Parker, while the Amateur Prix for grading-limited tournaments had 10 play-

ers averaging over 80 per cent. To compete you should consult the BCF calendar for congresses taking place near you, collect entry forms from congress bookstalls, play in as many qualifying events as possible. Above all aim high. You will inevitably have weekends when gleeful opponents fork your rooks or scoop your pawns and Sunday morning ecomes a time to regret learning the moves, but such disasters are omitted from Amateur Prix totals. What matters are your

scores of 4/5, 5/6 or better, and you need at least three of these. The most popular grading-lim-

ited events are for under-160 and under-130 grades, so if the annual BCF list assesses you at 155 or 128 there should be several good opportunities. To win the Amateur Prix, you must score 5/5 or 6/6 at least once; in 1995 that was the difference between the prizewinners and the near-missers.

Weekend and one-day conresses often have poor conditions which affect the play, so a repertoire which includes offbeat openings and traps will help crush weaker opponents quickly and conserve energy for the

hard games. A routine scan of the board every move for actual or imminent blunders on both sides will also pay off. An unusual gambit helped Sadler clinch the Grand Prix at Islington:

pared for the CC's originator Ju Levitt, who named the opening after the block of flats where he lives, fxe4 6 Ng5 Bf5 7 f3 Wa The Leigh Prixette for women has obvious designs on the light squares c6, 17 and 15, so Black should now consider returning to pawn by 7...e3.

exf3 8 Qxf3 Bg4? Black is going to suffer for a while, so should put another pawn in the kitty by Bxc2. 9 Qf2 a6 10 Bg Bxe2 11 Qxe2 Nbd7 1200 Ne5 13 Bf4 Nf7 14 Ne6Thed world champion Steinitz wole, " can settle a knight at d6 or e6, lo go to sleep and let the game win

M Sadler-N Regan, Clarada Court Defence, Ialington 196

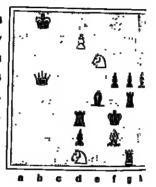
1 d4 c5 2 d5 f5 3 Nc3 NRJ

Nf3 d6 5 e41? Sadler's new go

bit idea, which he orginally me

Qd7 15 Rad1 Nd8 16 Bo Nxe6 17 dxe6 Qc6 18 Bxf6 m 19 Qh5+ Kd8 20 Nd5 Rc82 Rxf6! The decisive breakthr exf6 22 Qf7 Qe8 23 Qxf6+ JM 24 Nxe7 Kc7 25 Nxc8 Kxc8% e7 Rg8 27 Rxd6 Resigns.

No 2407



White mates in two moves,

against any defence (by J Warm 1926). Most competitors at a leading UK tournament falled ind the key.

No 2406: 1 Qa6. If Ke3 2 No. or K(3 2 Nf2, or Kd5 2 Qc6, a Kf5 2 Qg6, or f3 2 Qe6.

North

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54

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How DO you feel about coming second? Normally I'd regard it as the worst thing in the world - to have come within an inch of victory and fail at the last fence is altogether worse than having run the whole race in the middle of the field.

But in October last year I played in a tournament that was so much fun I almost didn't mind finishing second. The event was the annual Sun, Sea'and Slams tournament in Barbados. I was playing with the American international Neil Silverman, to whom I once finished second in the World Championship final, which really did hurti

At game-all on the last hand of pairs tournament, playing against the only pair in the field who can overtake you for first place, you pick up these cards:

### ▲2 ♥KQJ752 #AQ85 ▲Q6

Lalways enjoy holding good distri-butional hands, and my pleasure at the sight of this one was enhanced when my partner opened the bld- trophy instead of us. Still, if there ding with one diamond. We were had been a prize for the best complaying a five-card major system, so. ment in a post-mortem, my partner there: was no guarantee of a great would have won it easily: "You Authority on (+44) 171-836 9448. diamond fit, but I decided to force to should have had at least one more

Neil cheered me up still further by raising to three hearts, but, with nothing to spare for my initial force. to game, I contented myself with four hearts. Neil now made a cue bid of four spades, showing the ace. What would your next call be?

Well, if partner could proceed beyond game voluntarily, I felt that there ought to be good chances of slam. I might have asked for aces with a Blackwood 4NT, but it is not good practice to do this with a club tolding such as Qx. I therefore decided to make a return cue bid of five diamonds, knowing that Neil would not go to slam unless he had some My partner leapt to six h had control of the club suit, all right, Zia but that was not the problem, as the full deal shows. East, Dave Blackman from Barba-

dos, waa too much of a gentleman to double. But he wasn't too proud to take his aces and defeat me by a trick; nor did he seem noticeably upset when he and his partner, Tony Watkins, went up to collect the 

#### **₽**K95 East West ♠ Q 1084 ●J97653 ₩A9 :. .32 ♦J97 A7431 +J 108 South di alev **≜2** 1, 15 ♥KQJ752→ ♦ A Q 8 5 **≜Q6** 1 - 51197 12.50 Nell No No 10-· 2W-No .: Ene: **3♥** + ...No No - 4<del>4</del> -No No 5∳ No 69 No have had at least one least m colada," retorted Neil. The 1996 Barbados Sun, Sea and Slame tournament runs October

Trixle Simmons in Barbados Itaell

of the first licence granted under European Community regulations governing the trade in frozen equine semen. I fell to speculating that if the bloodstock industry, which currently insists on natural covering.

tance more widely.

with camels, too.

#### flattered by the attention of so many suitors. The vet was in attendance to ensure that the licensing terms set

the frozen semen of champion com-

These great stallions are splendid

beasts, with track records of suc-

cess in the three-day show jumping and dressage competitions. They

come to West Kington so their

valuable potential to sire progeny

may be made available on an inter-

national market. It is cheaper than

sending horses by air freight

around the world for a hit and miss

I read the timetable - four stal-

lions were due to meet Grace that

morning, another four the following

fering teaser mare in season but not

day. What poor Grace, the long-suf

meeting with the mare.

petition stallions.

#### QUARDIAN WEEKLY February 11 1995

GUARDIAN WER

Rugby Union Five Nations Championship: Scotland 19 France 14



Craig Joiner and Scott Hastings hold back Christian Califano during the victory which ensured that Scotland maintained their 100 per cent record in the Five Nations Championship PHOTO: DAVID GBSON

## It's just a doddle for Dods

#### ian Malin at Murrayfield

RANCE seem to bring the best out of Scotland. The Auld Alliance has produced three memorable internationals in the past 12 months. A last-minute try by Gavin Hastings took the spoils in Paris a year ago, Emile Ntamack turned the tables on the Scots in the World Cup three months later, and on Saturday Michael Dods did the trick to keep Scotland on course for the Grand Slam.

On paper Scotland had little chance against a side who had beaten New Zealand and England in the past three months and could justifiably claim to be the leading side in Europe. With all due respect to David Hilton, Ian Smith and Eric Peters, the England-based players in Scotland's pack, they are hardly blood-curdling Rob Roys, but all three had major games against a pack on average 10kg heavier.

"Not bad for wee men, eh?" said Kevin McKenzie, Scotland's 5ft 6in And keep the opposition guessing. hooker, giving the key to this rous-ing win. Scotland's front row, small by international standards, had held its own against the mighty French scrummagers.

There is an irresistible symmetry in Scotland's current position, with links to 1984 and 1990. A victory over a callow Wales side in Cardiff and March 2 will bring Will Carling's England back to Edinburgh and haunting memories of six years ago.

As in 1984 and 1990, Scotland have found an irresistible half-back combination to pull the strings. For Laidlaw and Rutherford, Armstrong and Chalmers, read Brian Redpath and Gregor Townsend. They were contentious choices when the championship began, yet after two games they are the best combination in the Five Nations. Redpath created both tured Townsend, who showed the | are a cause for concern.

and keep the opposition guessing. Redpath and Townsend were at the heart of a Scotland game plan that involved winning quick ruck ball and moving it wide and away from the bigger French pack. The opening 10 minutes were as fast and furious as anything that will be seen in this year's championship.

But if the frenetic pace was coach's nightmare, it also helped to sharpen Scottish reflexes.

One bone-jarring tackle by Hastings on Abdel Benazzi in the second half was similar to that of his brother Gavin on the same charging flanker in Paris last spring.

And on the subject of brothers, Peter Dods was the full-back in the 1984 Grand Slam campaign. Little brother Michael came of age here. His tries would have done justice to his opposite number, Philippe Sainttries for Dods. Both moves also fea- André, but six missed kicks at goal

## Sports Dlary Shiv TV battle ragu

A S THE BATTLE over the televising of flagship sports victed of assaulting last year served the National Heritage Secretary, Virginia Bottomley, found herself at the centre of a bitter row for publishing a consultative document on the subject just four days before a vote in the House of Lords on the **Broadcasting Bill.** 

In it she appears to reject curbs on Rupert Murdoch's Sky Sports, arguing that the channel had in-creased the screening of events on television from 3,000 hours a year to more than 12,000. She said: "The Government recognises the concern that a core of sporting events should be freely available to the nation. But it is concerned that illthought through changes could deprive sports of a primary source of income.

Her move was denounced by a cross-party alliance of peers, including former Conservative minister, Lord Peyton, who described it as a "rather grubby manoeuvre". The peers have tabled an amendment to the bill which would bar subscription channels from gaining exclu-sive access to eight "listed" sports events, including Wimbledon, the Grand National, the Olympic Games and the World Cup.

According to the BBC, Mrs Bottomley's consultation document relies heavily on data supplied by BSkyB. The Lords vote on the amendment is due later this week and it was widely believed that the Government will be defeated.



ROGER STANISLAUS of Leyton Orient (above) has become the first English footballer to be banned for drug-taking. An FA disciplinary commission has suspended him for a year after he was found guilty of taking cocaine on a match day. The growing use of drugs in sport claimed another casualty when Dean'Thomas, a 17-year-old weight lifter became the first junior athlete in Britain to test positive. for Ecstasy. Thomas faces a possible four-year ban if a second sample

COTLAND and Everton striker ODuncan Ferguson will not have to serve the remaining seven games of a 12-match suspension after winning his appeal against the sen-tence. In a judicial review, the judge, Lord Maciadyen, ruled that the

victed of assaulting Mo last year served half of a u. month prison sentence in a Glasgow prison - the first British footballer

to go to jail for an on-field incident. Everton sought a judicial review of the case on the grounds that if Ferguson was to serve his full suspension from football he would have been punished twice for the same offence. The quashing of the ban means Ferguson will now be able to challenge for a place in the Scotland squad for the European Championship final this summer.

BIRMINGHAM City have been ordered by the Football Association to play one game behind closed doors as punishment for the crowd trouble at their home game with Millwall last November. The penalty, suspended until the end of this year, will be activated by "any serious misconduct involving Birmingham or their supporters either at home or away".

KATJA SEIZINGER wrapped up the World Cup skiing title by sweeping to three victories in three days last week. The German jumped into the lead with wins in a super giant on Friday and a down-hill on Saturday. On Sunday, she finished another super-G in Val d'Iserein style. With only one event remaining, she is more than 100 points clear of her mearest rival and so retains her title. "It's been the most successful weekend in my career so far." she said.

GRAND PRIX cars are to be fit-ted with aircraft-style "black boxes" from the start of the 1997 season in an attempt to remove any doubt about the cause of accidents. Max Mosley, president of the international governing body Fia, who announced the move last week, said that the system would be used only to gather data in the event of an accident and not for apportioning blame after collisions.

VA MAJOLI of Croatia crushed Arantxa Sanchez Vicario 6-4, 6-1 to grab the Pan Pacific Open women's indoor title in Tokyo. The 18-year-old took just 72 minutes to add Sanchez Vicario's scalp to that of Monica Seles, whom she defeated 1-6, 7-6, 6-4 in the quarter-finals.

RAINER Peter McEllhiney collapsed and died after his boxer. Derek Wormaid, lost the European middleweight title fight against Richie Woodhall in Birmingham. Woodhall, aged 27, from Telford, halted Wormald in the 10th round. McEllhiney and died in hospital.

CRISS-CROSSING the pitch with the under-12 football team at Aleoric School in Wiltshire is causing a few problems to coach Peter Mowday. His touchline shout, Among the 10 Weishmen making their first Five Nations appearance at. Twickenham, the half-backs Arwel Thomas and Robert Howley suggested that they are on the headbutted John McStay of Raith does not end there. Even the substi-

### England 21 Wales 15

## England take the low road to victory

#### Robert Armstrong at Twickenham

NGLAND have registered a new patent in Mogadon rugby which could paralyse Scotland's hopes of winning the Five Nations Champi-onship and perhaps a Grand Slam in, next month's clash at Murrayfield.

The essence of this turgid approach is to weary the limbs and dull the wits of the opposition by keeping the ball safely out of sight hile the for downfield.

Slow ball is the very antithesis of modern Test rugby, which puts a premium on generating momentum and pace, yet those were the very qualities England successfully drained out of a young and enterprising Welsh side. Not for the first time Will Carling's men were so desperate to secure a win that they. were willing to sacrifice their own three quarters and any prospect of a try-scorers, Underwood and Gus-

ing to their hearts' content, they may well end up with the Triple Crown but they will also continue to alienate their own supporters, many of whom ran through the full repertoire of rude noises as the game slowly died on its feet. , The England manager Jack Row

ell pointedly passed the buck back to the players, explaining that they had put together their own game plan with the captain's approval. view of the flak Rowell has copped this season for talking up a 15-man game only to deliver a ponderous travesty on the field.

It is hard to escape the conclualon that Rowell needs to enlist a specialist coach to turn some of his forwards into bolder footballers, prepared to treat the backs as potential match-winners and not just op. tional extras. The England acoring feast on the altar of work-place efficiency. If England persist with the eight

man game, scrummaging and maul- | has a nose for the try line, yet overall this was a dejà on exercise i how to squander talent. Carling had the frustration of

being forced out with a knee injury in the 53rd minute just when his urgent calls for a more dynamic game were starting to be heeded. Instead of taking up the captain's torch, Clarke, the pack leader, promptly pulled England back into their shell, advising Grayson to kick for touch.

No doubt England felt unable to ret into top gear because, for the | confirms the positive result. second game running, they could not remedy their shortcomings in the line-out.

If England comprehensively failed in a perceived area of strength, they at least had the grim-satisfaction of overpowering their counterparts in the scrums, rucks. and maule.